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The CULTURAL HERITAGE *of the* SWEDISH IMMIGRANT

Selected References

By
O. FRITIOF ANDER

ROCK ISLAND, ILLINOIS
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TO

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A BENEFACTOR AND FRIEND

OF

MANY IMMIGRANTS

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FOREWORD

A bewildering array of material greets the student who would find his way in the history of Swedish immigrants in America. Where does the story begin, where does it end? Its beginning is interwoven with the fabric of an old European culture; it ends in the manifold patterns of an emerging American civilization. One can pick up a thread here or there and follow it back to its origins or forwards to its absorption in a new world. No one has yet separated all the threads or even attempted to assemble all the materials that have gone into this variegated texture binding Sweden and America together over the course of a century.

Prof. O. Fritiof Ander has been asked by the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society to attempt a bibliography of this vast material. He has worked in this field for over twenty years, both in Sweden and in America. The result of some of his labors is gathered up in this bibliography which the Society feels will be of inestimable value to the student who is interested in tracing a modern folk migration from old worlds to new. It is admitted that a bibliography of this kind of movement can never be exhaustive and its contents never neatly formed into altogether satisfactory categories. But it can be an invaluable guide to anyone seeking to discover what and where material exists which throws light on particular phases of this baffling cultural phenomenon of immigration.

CONRAD BERGENDOFF

Rock Island, Ill.
June, 1956

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The work on this bibliography began several years ago as a project sponsored by the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society. In the earliest stages of the work suggestions were accepted from several historians, who were interested in the progress made on the bibliography. Among these mention should be made of Theodore C. Blegen, dean of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota; Merle Curti, professor of history, University of Wisconsin; Paul W. Gates, professor of history, Cornell University; Oscar Handlin, professor of history, Harvard University; Carl F. Wittke, dean of the Graduate School, Western Reserve University; and my very close friend George M Stephenson, professor emeritus of history, University of Minnesota. Professor E. Gustav Johnson of North Park College, Professor Adolf Olson of Bethel College, and the Rev. Wesley Westerberg of Naperville, Ill., have been very kind in providing information of importance on materials on the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church, the Baptist General Conference of America and the Swedish Methodist Church.

Dr. Robert B. Downs, director of the University of Illinois Library and Library School, and a past president of the American Library Association, together with two members of his staff, namely Professors Rose B. Phelps and Leslie W. Dunlap, have read the manuscript and their suggestions were appreciated.

The Board of Directors of Augustana College granted a semester's leave of absence for the fall of 1952 in order to allow time for the completion of the work at the Royal Library, Stockholm, Sweden. The Social Science Research Council and the American Philosophical Society voted grants-in-aid to defray some of the expenses associated with the research. A word of appreciation is also due the Swedish-American Line which through the kind office of Mr. G. Hilmer Lundbeck made the journey to and from Sweden a most pleasant experience.

Over a period of nearly a century Augustana College has acted as a special agent of the Royal Library in collecting materials on the life of the Swedish immigrants in America. This friendly relationship between Augustana College and the Royal Library was first fostered by T. N. Hasselquist and the head librarian, Harald Wieselgren. As a result the Royal Library has today an excellent collection of Swedish-Americana. I wish also to express my gratitude to all the members of the staff of the Royal Library of Stockholm, who made the work on this bibliography a pleasant experience.

I am greatly indebted to Carl Sorling of Springfield, Ill., and D. L. Esterdahl of Moline, Ill., whose financial assistance has helped to make publication of this volume possible. They have long been interested in the culture of the Swedish immigrant. I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Augustana Book Concern for its generous aid, financial and otherwise.

A word of thanks is due to the staff of the Denkmann Memorial Library of Augustana College for assistance and co-operation, especially to

Miss Drusilla Erickson, periodicals librarian, for verifying many periodical entries, and to Dr. Lucien White, head librarian, for helpful guidance as to bibliographical style.

Few scholarly tasks are more demanding and exacting than a bibliographical work. Yet it seems as if no amount of precaution and effort will insure the elimination of errors, and for these the compiler alone is responsible.

O. Fritiof Ander
Augustana College
June, 1956

INTRODUCTION

Three years ago the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society requested me to prepare a biblography on Swedish immigration and the Swedish immigrants in America. The Historical Society did not define the meaning of the word immigrant nor did it outline even briefly the scope of the bibliography. Undoubtedly, the society was chiefly interested in an immediate ready reference for those interested in doing research in the field of the immigrant's contributions to American history as well as in a usable guide for those whose interests were less professional. Such a bibliography could easily have been prepared by pooling the bibliographical references found in better known works on the Swedish immigrants, and such a guide might well have served a purpose. Within the Historical Society there were voices which expressed a wish for a definitive bibliography on the Swedish immigrants in America.

It is very doubtful indeed if a more inclusive bibliography on the Swedish immigrants in America will ever be prepared, yet the word "definitive" is too strong an adjective to use in describing this guide. It has its very marked limitations. It seeks to include only that literature which deals with the immigrants who were conscious of an immigrant status, a feeling which gave rise to a desire to seek the company of other immigrants of the same national stock to foster and perhaps to perpetuate certain ideals and institutions in America. Thus references to such persons as Greta Garbo, Ingrid Bergman, Jenny Lind, and Christina Nilsson in America are not included. Standard guides for this type of material are available. Of course, such a journal as the *American Swedish Monthly* places a great deal of stress upon the contribution of these and other artists to American life. To put it more simply this is a bibliography on "Little Sweden" in America, and as such its literature depicts the reactions of the Swede to the American scene.

The bibliography does not concern itself with the individual Swedish immigrant who lost his identity. In fact it does not deal with the accomplishment of any one Swede even when he is a man whose contributions to America might have been most significant in a given field of endeavor.

The student of immigration is aware of the strong feeling of ethnocentrism found in any national group within America and, therefore, he makes allowances for the most extravagant claims of the group in its efforts to inflate its pride and feeling of distinctiveness. Persons will be claimed to be "Swedes" without a drop of Swedish blood if the name sounds Swedish. A great-great-great-grandfather or grandmother of Swedish origin of an American statesman of note or any notable person is a matter of importance to the immigrant group. Persons who might not qualify as immigrants, like Sweden's greatest singing star of the last century, are claimed as they meet the demands for new symbols representing the dual loyalties of immigrants where the old symbols of the monarch and the church no longer satisfied.

The guide aims to focus attention upon immigrant sources and not upon local, state, regional or national sources. These immigrant sources are too numerous when they deal specifically with the institutions founded by the immigrants to be included entirely. The archives of the colleges founded by

the Swedes in America contain hundreds of leaflets, flysheets, programs, constitutions, rules of order, catalogues, bulletins, registers, handbooks, and jubilee publications of local churches, clubs and societies which are not properly catalogued and this form of literature could not be included. The availability of the material and the nature of existing bibliographical references placed very definite limitations upon the scope of the guide. But other factors were important. The bibliography cannot define the period of transition during which the immigrant institutions became American. It would be strange to refer to the churches founded around a hundred years ago as immigrant churches. This is also true of the colleges and schools begun by the church. It is hardly possible to include their leaders of today, a generation or more removed from Sweden, as immigrants.

This bibliography offers no solution to the difficult problem of definition, but its limits have allowed as "immigrant literature and sources" those which were written in Swedish and a literature which deals directly with the immigrants as such. To many persons it might seem very easy to define "immigrants," but to the compiler of this bibliography it has been a major problem, and items have been included only to be later excluded upon a redefinition of the term. It is needless to say that no satisfactory solution was found, and, therefore, this work can well be called "selected references." Furthermore it does not intend to be in any way definitive on the causes of emigration from Sweden. The background of emigration and the Swedish heritage deserves far more attention of serious students of history before a more satisfactory bibliography could be prepared. Here the sources are almost limitless. The curtain has, however, been drawn upon Swedish immigration to America, and the sources pertaining to the immigrant in America upon which future historians must base their account will not become much larger. The time has come for an appraisal of the contributions of the immigrant by objective historians and subjective novelists and poets, as the first turns to the records evaluated by the yardstick of historical criticism while the other turns to the legend and the lore evaluated by the yardstick of sentiment.

A few instructions in the use of the bibliography are in order. Nearly all entries are to be found e ther in the Royal Library or at Augustana College. Some are to be found at Bethel College, St. Paul, Minnesota; North Park College, Chicago, Illinois; the Swedish Methodist Historical Library, Evanston, Ill.; Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul, and, of course, at the sister colleges of Augustana; namely, Bethany, Gustavus Adolphus, and Upsala. A small number of Swedes became Mormons, and references on these have been included. A few items could not be located. Augustana College Library is in a position to assist in locating those most mentioned in the bibliography. It has in its possession the original manuscript of the bibliography which contained some 1,500 additional entries, translations of bibles, a description of the nature of pamphlets and information of various kinds, including special references found to materials in the Royal Library. No attempt has been made to include all editions of a book.

The historian is well acquainted with the general bibliographical and biographical tools, and these have not been included.

References are made to the Swan and Linder collections at Augustana College. These not only duplicate considerable material on the Swedes in

America that is found in the college library, but they supplement the material. Both G. N. Swan and O. A. Linder were interested in the literary accomplishments of the immigrants as well as in the general contributions of the Swedes to American life. Linder was a newspaper man and he clipped numerous articles and notices from American journals about Swedes in America. These clippings could not be included, but they are very accessible as a part of the Linder collection, which is a library of Swedish-Americana. The Swan Collection is less specialized and contains a great deal of material on Swedish history and literature in general.

The bibliography is divided into ten subdivisions. Few items are easily classified. The user must therefore refer again and again to the bibliography of bibliographies and to the general topic on distribution of the immigrants. Many America books are of a general nature. A serious effort has been made not to repeat any titles, once that a title has been classified and placed under one of the ten divisions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Americans by adoption, by Joseph Husband. Boston, 1920
AB	Augustana bulletin
AD	Advance
AH	Åhlén and Holm's årsbok
AHA	Annual report of the American Historical Association
AHP	Augustana Historical Society publication
AHR	American historical review
AI	Annals of Iowa
AJ	Augustana journal
AJS	American journal of sociology
AL	Augustana College Library
ALP	Augustana Library publication
AM	Atlantic monthly
AME	American mercury
AMER	American magazine
AO	Augustana observer
AQ	Augustana quarterly
ARF	Årsbok utgiven av Riksföreningen för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet
AS	Allsvensk samling
ASD	Americans of Swedish descent, by Gösta Nyblom. Rock Island, 1948
ASH	American Swedish handbook
ASHF	American Swedish Historical Foundation. Yearbook
ASHM	American Swedish Historical Museum. Yearbook
ASM	American Swedish monthly
ASR	American Scandinavian review
ATQ	Augustana theological quarterly
AU	Augustana
B	Baptist General Conference of America
BAIS	Bulletin of the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature and Science
BASI	Bulletin of the American Swedish Institute
BF	Bläckfisken
BN	Bygd och natur
BSA	Bibliographical Society of America. Papers
C	Evangelical Mission Covenant Church
CE	Century
CG	Common ground
CH	Church history
CHA	Chattaquaun
CM	Covenant memories; golden jubilee, Swedish Evangelical Mission, 1885-1935. Chicago, [1935]
CO	Current opinion
CQ	Covenant quarterly
CSM	Christian Science monitor

CT	Chicago tribune
EB	Ebenezer
EG	Economic geography
EK	Epworth-klockan
ER	Educational review
EVR	Evangelical review
F	Fortune
FC	Evangelical Free Church of America
FF	Frikyrkomötet förhandlingar och föredrag
FME	Förgät-mig-ej
FSA	Förf:s svensk-amerikanska folket
FV	Faculty viewpoints
GA	German American annals
GGA	Geografiska annaler
GGR	Geographical review
GH	Göteborgs handels-och sjöfartstidning
GR	Germanic review
GT	Grade teacher
H	Hemåt
HA	Hallandsk årsbok
HCF	Hylten-Cavallius Föreningens årsbok
HHC	History of Henry County, Illinois, by Henry L. Kiner. Chicago, 1910
HS	Hem i Sverige
HW	Harper's weekly
HY	Hygeia (Stockholm)
IJ	Iowa journal of history and politics
IL	Illinois libraries
IND	Independent
IS	Iowa studies in language and literature
ISHS	Illinois State Historical Society. Transactions
ISS	University of Illinois studies in the social sciences
JAH	Journal of agricultural history
JFA	Julhälsning till församlingen i ärkestiftet
JFV	Julhälsningar till församlingarna i Visby stift
JH	Julhelg
JHU	Johns Hopkins University studies
JIHS	Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society
JMH	Journal of modern history
KB	Korsbanaret
KHA	Kyrkohistorisk årskrift
KK	Kurre-kalender
KLA	Kalmar Läns årsbok för kulturhistoria och hembygdskultur
KMT	Kansas music teacher
KN	Kalendern Nornan
KSHS	Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society
L	Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church
LC	Lutheran companion
LCR	Lutheran church review
LQ	Lutheran quarterly

LSJ	Lund's stifts julbok
M	Swedish Methodist Church
MA	Moderna amerikaner, by R. G.:son Berg. Stockholm, 1925
MAS	Musiktidning för Amerikas svenskar
MAW	Minnesota alumni weekly
MC	My church
MD	Moline daily dispatch
MFJ	Minnen från jubelfesten. Program, predikninger och tal vid Augustana Colleges och Augustana-synodens femtio års-jubileum. Den 5-10 juni 1910. Rock Island, 1911
MG	Morgonbris
MH	Minnesota history
MHB	Minnesota historical bulletin
MHC	Minnesota historical collections
MHM	Michigan history magazine
MLN	Modern language notes
MM	Munsey's magazine
MS	Manuscript
MSA	Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers. Proceedings
MSM	Minneskrift . . . Sv. Ev. Missions för i Am.
MU	Musician
MUD	Musical digest
MV	Midvinterboken
MVHP	Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Proceedings
MVHR	Mississippi Valley historical review
N	Nordstjernan
NA	De Nios årsbok
NAHS	Norwegian American historical studies and records
NAR	North American review
NDHC	North Dakota Historical Society collections
NDHQ	North Dakota historical quarterly
NEFH	National ekonomiska föreningen för handlingar
NFM	Nordiska familjeboks månadskrönika
NHSP	Nebraska Historical Society publications
NM	Northland magazine
NN	A nation of nations, by Louis Adamic. New York and London, [1945]
NOB	Namn och bygd; tidskrift för nordisk ortnamnisforskning
NOST	Nordisk statistisk tidskrift
NR	New republic
NS	Det nya sverige
NST	Nya svensk tidskrift
NT	Nordisk tidskrift
NU	Numismatist
NWP	Nya wecko-postens kalender
OB	Ord och bild
OC	Our covenant
OEA	Onnestads elevförbunds årsbok
OU	Outlook

P	Palimpsest
PB	Prärieblomman
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PNQ	Pacific Northwestern quarterly
PS	Princeton studies in American civilization
QSCP	Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers
RD	Reader's digest
RFA	Riksföreningen årsbok
RR	Review of reviews
SA	Svenska amerikanaren
SAF	Swedish American forum
SAHB	Swedish American historical bulletin
SAM	Sartain's magazine
SASN	Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study. Studies and notes
SASP	Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study. Proceedings
SAT	Samlaren tidskrift
SC	Scandinavia
SCA	School arts magazine
SCD	Sursum corda
SD	Social demokraten
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist Church
SDB	Svenska dagbladet
SDHC	South Dakota historical collections
SE	Science and education
SEA	Swedish element in America, by Erik G. Westman and E. Gustav Johnson, eds. Chicago, 1931-1934. 4v.
SEP	Saturday evening post
SF	Svenska folkrörelser
SFV	Skrifter utgifna af Svenska sällskapet "Svenska folkskolans vänner"
SGA	Svensk geografiska årsbok
SGSA	Sydsvenska geografiska sällskapets årsbok
SHS	Swedish Historical Society of America. Yearbook
SHSB	Swedish Historical Society of America. Bulletin
SIA	Swedes in America, by Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin, eds. New Haven, 1938
SJ	Sjömannen
SK	Skogsblommor
SKT	Svensk kyrkotidning
SLS	Svenska litterära sällskapet de nio. Årsbok
SM	Scribner's magazine
SMO	Scribner's monthly
SMS	Studier i modern språkvetenskap
SNF	Skrifter utgifna of Svenska sällskapet för nykterhet folkuppfostran
SOS	Språk och stil
SP	Swedish pioneer
SPHQ	Swedish pioneer historical quarterly
SMS	Studier i modern språkvetenskap
SR	School review

SS	Senior scholastic
SSE	Årsbok utgiven av s:t Erik i New York
SSN	Scandinavian studies and notes
SSQ	Southwestern social science quarterly
SSR	Sociology and social research
ST	Svensk tidskrift
STI	Sångartidningen
STM	Svensk tidskrift for musikforskning
STP	Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift för politik-statistik-ekonomi
STV	Studentföreningen Verdandis småskrifter
SVIA	Svenskarna i Amerika, by Karl E. Hildebrand. Stockholm, 1925-1926. 2v.
SVR	Svenska revyen
SVS	Svenska storman, by Harald Johnsson. Stockholm, 1936. 2v.
TK	Teologisk kvartalskrift
TSK	Tidskrift för svensk evangelisk-luthersk kirkohistoria i N. Amerika
TT	Teologisk tidskrift
TW	This week magazine
UMG	Ur minnets gömmor. Minneapolis, n. d.
UMS	University of Minnesota studies in the social sciences
UPB	University of Pittsburgh bulletin
US	Utlandssvenskarna
UV	Ungdomsvännen
VK	Valkyrian
VR	Vinterrosor
VS	Vintersol
VSH	Växjö stifts hembygdskalendar
WD	Woman's day
WMH	Wisconsin magazine of history
WT	World today
ZSB	Zoological Society bulletin

Chapter One

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The bibliography of bibliographies is limited to references pertaining to the causes of emigration from Sweden and the life of the Swedish immigrants in America. In American history these immigrants constituted one of the smaller national groups. Their impact upon American life was significant but only in a relative sense. American standard bibliographical aids reflect this relativeness, and their references to the role of the Swedish immigrant are few. Nearly all of these guides might therefore be ignored by the student of Swedish immigration.

The emigration of hundreds of thousands of people from Sweden and its small population from 1840-1914 were the result of great and difficult readjustments in Sweden mirrored in almost every aspect of life. The history of emigration as far as Sweden is concerned is essentially the history of Sweden. It could, therefore, be expected that the more significant historical works on Sweden since 1840 should contain both material and bibliographical references useful to the student of emigration. To list these works would be impossible in a bibliography with a limited scope. Furthermore, the Swedish historians in the past have failed to recognize the significance of emigration. This seems more strange as there existed a definite relationship between the causes of emigration and the religious, social, economic, and political conditions as they reflected themselves in political legislation and the readjustments toward a social democracy in an industrial age. Emigration caused such concern in Sweden that it became the object of a major investigation by the government, an investigation into the causes of emigration, which is more exhaustive than any similar study. Yet very few historical works on the 19th century except those by a few such church historians as Ernst Newman and Gunnar Westin are of direct aid in the study of emigration. This could in part be explained by the strong Anglo-American influences upon religious conditions in Sweden.

The temperance movement should also be mentioned as one of the important Anglo-American influences. The bibliographical aids on this aspect of emigration and immigration are most disappointing. Nils Nordin's bibliography suggests a rich literature. The Scandinavians constituted the major strength of the International Order of Good Templars in the United States. Yet the files at the Royal Library and Augustana College are most unsatisfactory when it comes to the printed sources of the I. O. G. T. and the role of the Swedish immigrant in the American temperance movement.

No standard Swedish bibliographical work is mentioned. Actually Samuel E. Bring's work as well the publications of the Swedish Historical Society have a very limited value to the student of emigration. Bring's work is annotated and suggestive rather than detailed. It points out the more important primary sources and works of greater importance. The annual bibliography of the Swedish Historical Society edited by Percy Elfstrand is a

continuation of the work begun by Kristian Setterwall, and it corresponds essentially to *Writings in American History* published by the American Historical Association.

Among the most accessible and best known book catalogues are *Svensk Bokkatalog, Årskatalog för Svenska Bokhandeln,* Björck and Börjesson's *Americana,* and, of course, *Sveriges Offentliga Bibliotek* published by the Royal Library, as well as *Accessionskatalogen.*

The search for primary sources necessitates the use of special guides such as Hedvig Lindeström's *Register till Emigrations Utredningen,* the *Årsbibliografi* prepared by Riksdagsbiblioteket and those compiled by E. Thyselius, P. M. Hebbe, L. Tunberg and N. Herlitz.

It has already been stated that many measures were taken in Sweden to discourage emigration. A growing feeling of nationalism placed the emigrant in an unfavorable light. He was often held up to ridicule. It is doubtful that the Swedish historians escaped this feeling of nationalism which made objectivity difficult in dealing with emigration, if it were not ignored. A growing interest in America and a friendlier attitude toward the emigrants have reflected themselves in a number of special guides since 1925. This is seen in the bibliographical works of Nils Afzelius and particularly in *Svensk Literaturhistorisk Bibliografi,* which he ably edited for many years. Here he includes the literature of the Swedish immigrant as a part of the literature of Sweden. Bengt Åhlén and his associates did the same in the preparation of their biographical dictionary of Swedish authors.

This approach became popular in other fields outside of literature. Excellent bibliographical aids are found in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon* edited by Bertil Boëthius and Bengt Hildebrand. Ernst Anderson's work is an invaluable guide to America books containing impressions of Swedish visitors to America. Åke Davidsson's volume on the literature of music contains many references pertaining to music among the immigrants.

The interest in local history in Sweden is comparatively old and it has resulted in the organization of a large number of "hembygdsföreningar," which might be compared to our local historical societies. These provincial societies are responsible for a rich literature with a local color, to which several guides have been prepared. Strangely enough this literature contains little of interest to the student of emigration. One of the best examples of these guides is Gösta Ottervik's *Litteratur om Blekinge.*

The most convenient of the ready references on Swedish immigration are, of course, those which deal directly with the subject. Of these the works by George M. Stephenson are by far the most significant and useful as bibliographical aids. In his work on John Lind he has masterfully used American and immigrant sources as few other historical craftsmen are able to do. In a study of the causes of emigration from Sweden attention should be directed to the growing number of doctoral theses written in Sweden on conditions in that country during the 19th century. Here one might well expect the presentation of largely unused sources or the reinterpretation of better known ones.

The story of the journey has remained one of the most neglected aspects of emigration from Europe. Yet the sources on the journey are abundant and include among others "America books" and "Guide books" to which some excellent guides have been prepared.

Many articles are counted among the best bibliographical aids. This is especially true of articles dealing with immigrant guides, the immigrant press and literature of both a secular and a religious nature. The latter were often written by people intimately associated either with the press or the church of the Swedes in America. All of these testify to an extensive literature of the immigrant and significant contributions to American life of one of the smaller immigrant groups.

Otto Rob. Landelius and Nils William Olsson have collected a great deal of biographical material on Swedes in America. Landelius is interested in all Swedes living outside of Sweden while Olsson has limited the scope of his interests to Swedish immigrants in America prior to 1850. Landelius and Olsson are greatly dependent upon such literature as is found in Sven Ågren's *Svensk Biografisk Uppslagslitteratur*. Here are listed the various "Herdaminnen" of Borås, Göteborg, Härnösand, Ingermanland, Kalmar and other dioceses as well as the "matriklar" (register with brief biographical notes) of schools, regiments, nations (fraternities), societies, and numerous genealogical references, all materials with which this guide does not concern itself.

* * *

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Chapter Two

THE BACKGROUND OF SWEDISH EMIGRATION

A study of the causes of emigration from Sweden after 1840 becomes essentially a study of the history of Sweden during the 19th century. But it is also a study of those conditions in the United States which attracted so many immigrants. Emigration and immigration cannot be separated. It is impossible to focus attention upon the social, economic, political, and religious ills of Sweden and the problems faced as an old social order gave room for democracy and equalitarianism without simultaneously pointing to the existence of a democracy on the other side of the Atlantic. The birth of a social democracy in Sweden was slow and very painful. It is to be identified with the great folk-movements of liberalism, temperance, and religious awakening which promised much for the future. But these movements seem almost to lose themselves in great economic readjustments associated with the commercial, agricultural, and industrial revolutions and the rise of organized labor. During the period of adjustment there was a spirit of restlessness and impatience though change gradually held out more promise and hope for the future. America fever threatened to almost depopulate Sweden during the 1880's when emigration reached a new high, and this fear may well have provided an impetus in Sweden for more rapid changes in the direction of social justice. But before any measurable results had been achieved hundreds of thousands of Swedes had found their way to America, until nearly two-sevenths of all Swedes are to be found in America, if descendants of Swedish immigrants are included.

They came to America to escape the difficult conditions in Sweden and to share in benefits of a social order established upon democratic faiths. They came in search for opportunity, and to them America had become synonymous with progress, change, hope, and above all a new home. In a study of Swedish emigration the magnetic power of America cannot be ignored. America letters and other accounts of immigrants were filled with enthusiasm for America, and the guide books hardly ever failed to paint America as the land of promise. The study of the causes of emigration is an extremely complex one, and the historian must always be ready to search for new materials and sources which might be useful to him.

This search might well begin with the sources listed below under books, pamphlets, and articles, which soon will provide new leads. Many excellent references, undoubtedly the best, are to be found listed in the "Bibliography of Bibliographies" and many general works on the Swedes in America contain material of value. The Swedish-American newspapers, periodicals, and annuals contain references that cannot be ignored, and from 1840 to the present time the Swedish press contains invaluable information on the causes of Swedish emigration. America books, America letters found in many archives on both sides of the Atlantic, guide books, and, of course,

official government publications are rich in materials deserving the historian's search.

Sweden is most fortunate in having a very rich literature of official publications. The possible consequences of mass emigration upon the national economy of the country led to the most exhaustive study made by any country of the causes of emigration. This study is called *Emigrations Utredningen,* which constitutes a major source on the history of emigration from Sweden. A growing feeling of nationalism expressed itself in many ways and did not fail to influence the nature of official reports and studies, but this in no way undermines their significance to the student of immigration to America. Sweden has reason to be proud of its official statistics and the reports of its provincial governors, departments or bureaus of commerce, mining, manufacture, agriculture, fishing, and health. These are not merely dry statistics. They provide the background for a significant social interpretation of Sweden's great folk movements, including emigration.

The Church of Sweden is an agency of the state, and the official records of the church are numerous and of considerable importance in understanding the nature of the religious awakening of the last century. Many references can easily be secured by consulting the works of Sweden's eminent church historians.

Sweden has a large press and a press which has played a significant role in forming public opinion since 1830. This press consisting of dailies, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and annuals abounds in references to America, the causes of emigration, the Swedish immigrant in America, the impact of emigration upon life in Sweden, the Americanization of Sweden, and other topics which have kept America in the public mind in Sweden. Excellent and adequate guides are available to the press, and the inclusion of the Swedish press in this bibliography seemed therefore unnecessary. Some oddities have been selected, however. These represent publications of periodicals or flysheets which aimed to call special attention to America. Of course, America letters found their way into the secular press and both George M. Stephenson and the compiler of this bibliography have had photostats made of many of these letters which have been presented to the Augustana College Library. Gunnar Westin has published a large number of America letters secured from the Augustana College Library files and from Bethel Seminary of Stockholm.

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Chapter Three

AMERICA BOOKS

America books stimulated an interest in America and a desire to emigrate from Sweden. The term "America book" is not easily defined. In the broadest sense any work dealing specifically with America might be included from James Fenimore Cooper's *The Deerslayer* to the more recent dime novels of the Wild West, which, by the way, enjoyed great popularity. American literature has long been popular in Sweden, where American authors are as well known as they are here, but their works must be excluded here from America books. This bibliography includes only those which might be classified as descriptive works of America, limiting itself essentially to Swedish visitors' impressions of America.

Prior to 1860 Swedish conceptions of America were often shaped by French, German, and English visitors to America—a literature to which several good guides have been prepared. The more important writers included Harriet Martineau, Alexis de Toqueville, and Frances Wright. It must be understood that these authors might not have been read necessarily by those who emigrated, but their America books were discussed by the Swedish press and the discussions did much in shaping an opinion about America. Strong Anglo-American influences were making themselves felt in Sweden, and in the light of these it would hardly be possible to ignore among the America books a volume written by Robert Baird, whose efforts to spread the gospel of temperance had enjoyed royal sympathy. The list of authors could be expanded to include many whose impressions of America secured the attention of the press, such as Hall, Hamilton, Mrs. Trollope, Stuart, Beaumont, Dickens, Chevalier, Power, Lyell, and others; but such a list comes outside of the scope of this bibliography. More important are the descriptions of America by such persons as Carl David Arfwedson, Fredrika Bremer, Carl August Gosselman, Carl Ulrich von Hauswolff, Leonard Klinkowström, and Per Adam Siljeström. Siljeström's account of America is regarded as one of the best on education in America written prior to the Civil War. Of course, Fredrika Bremer is highly esteemed.

It is not easy to judge the relative importance of a given number of travelogues as factors in creating an interest in emigration. Such criteria as the date of publication might seem relevant. Hauswolff's description of America would appear to have been published too early to have had a great influence on emigration. The date of publication seems here to be irrelevant. Hauswolff was compelled to answer adverse criticisms by *Nya Aftonbladet* fifteen years after the publication of his America book in a reply which he entitled *Till det Nya Aftonbladet svar på dess; Något om de Förenta Staterna i Norra Amerika* (Norrköping, 1855). It is a well-known fact that Unonius was acquainted with the work of Hauswolff.

But more and more emigrants left Sweden for America. Their letters arrived in Sweden addressed to relatives, friends, newspapers, and periodi-

cals and a new interest in America was awakened. A few emigrants returned home and wrote accounts of their experiences in America. The most important of these was Gustaf Unonius, whose account has recently been translated by Jonas Oscar Backlund in *A Pioneer in Northwest America 1841-1858* as the only significant publication of the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society. Col. Hans Mattson, who was one of the best-known figures among the Swedish immigrants, had his recollections published in Sweden even though he did not return to his native land to live. This form of literature grew richer as more emigrants returned to the land of their birth. A few of these had been associated either with the immigrant press or the church, and they were unusually well qualified to describe the life among their fellow-countrymen in America. Those whose association had been with the press frequently sought to secure the attention of the public by giving their accounts titles which would catch the attention of the public. They would also at times popularize their accounts to such an extent as to turn them into a class of "semi-fiction" for which the Swedes have a good word, namely, *romantiserad skildring.*

The America books written by a returning emigrant or a Swedish visitor to America after 1865-1870 have another interest to the historian than that concerned with stimulating emigration from Sweden. They contain invaluable information about the immigrants in America, their distribution, their churches, press, occupations and professions, their reactions to America, their sentiments for the old country, and their adjustments to American life. Prior to 1910 this literature was not important quantitatively, but in quality it has perhaps a greater significance than the deluge of travel descriptions by Swedes of America which was to follow. These more important observers of American life and Swedish settlements in the United States include Ernst Beckman, Hugo Nisbeth, Carl Sundbeck, Joel Thulin, G. von Wendt, August Palm, and Paul Peter Waldenström. The last is one of many clergymen from Sweden to visit America, but no one else's accounts created a greater controversy than those of the very observing Waldenström.

Unfortunately there were authors of America books from Sweden who showed no great interest in the Swedish settlements in America, as for instance Anna Lenah Elgström, Thorsten Gislén, Sven Anders Hedén, Siri Hård af Segerstad, Claes Adem Carl Lewenhaupt, Märtha Lindquist, Gustaf Adolf Nordenskiöld, Folke Adolphson Palander and a few others. Science, crime or Hollywood seemed more worthy of the attention of some visitors than the unexciting routine of everyday life among the immigrants.

Racial and religious prejudices are to be found among all people, and a large number of America books contained a morbid interest in the Mormons. Anti-Mormon literature published in Sweden grew partly out of curiosity and partly out of the desire to counteract the missionary activities of the Mormons in Sweden. This literature was seldom the product of Swedes themselves and, therefore, it has not been included in this chapter since it was not important in formulating new concepts of America. Unfortunately it must be said that the anti-Mormon publications gave the impression of being true accounts of visitors in the form of travelogues or "the inside story" of the secrets of the Mormons revealed by a former "saint" or a woman who had escaped from Utah.

Another form of America books is to be found within the realm of fiction. These could not be included within the scope of this bibliography even when written by Swedish authors and pertaining to Swedish emigration and immigrants in America. Their story was very different from the stories of cowboys, Indians and burning prairies so familiar to the youth of Sweden a generation or more ago. The theme needed the mind of an artist as well as the mind of an historian, for it concerned itself with a topic too close to the average home in Sweden to be dealt with effectively and acceptably purely as a matter of fiction or the work of the imagination. A number of novels have been written in Sweden about the emigrant as well as about the immigrant, but the greatest number of these are not great as works of literature and fall short on other counts as well. Some authors lacked an understanding of America's magnetic powers for hundreds of thousands of Swedes and the motives of emigration which were frequently accompanied by great personal, intellectual and spiritual struggles. Others wrote a fiction based on actual experiences, and these might offer both a pleasant and realistic account of the life among the immigrants without having great literary merits. Emigration from Sweden is a field yet to be successfully exploited by the novelist. The works of Vilhelm Moberg and Albin Widén seem to indicate that the time has arrived for the novelist to turn to the rich and largely unexploited field of emigration. There has been a growing interest in this literature in Sweden as is indicated also by the larger number of novelists who have turned to this field within the last few years. Of these Walter Dickson, Ture Nerman and others are representative. E. Gustav Johnson has recently prepared a guide to "Some Swedish Travelogues and Records of Experiences in America." (SPHQ, 3 [Oct. 1952], 104-112).

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Chapter Four

EMIGRANT GUIDE BOOKS

The emigrant guide books are more easily defined than the America books. These were essentially those books which sought to guide the emigrant leaving Sweden on his journey to America. Some were written with the best of motives. The largest number advertised tickets across the ocean or land for sale somewhere in America where the soil and the climate were always the best. Often the guides provided the emigrants with essential information for their journey. This included advice to read carefully the contract for passage across the ocean, to be sober and patient, to work diligently, never to leave packages without proper care especially after "the Irish" have been taken on board, to beware of runners; and they contained information as to where to settle for those with or without skills, what to bring along, the cash necessary, and similar instructions.

The largest number of guides were published by steamship companies and railroad and land companies. Many of these are uncatalogued at the Royal Library, and these are only sampled in this bibliography. Some of the guides are little more than leaflets, flysheets or posters while others are more pretentious and contain a lengthy text and many illustrations. The steamship companies stressed descriptive material pertaining to the accommodations on ships, while the land companies sought in glowing terms to describe the nature of the soil and climate. A number of states also competed in the recruiting of immigrants.

Sometimes it appears as if the agent of the land company, railroad or steamship company enjoyed considerable freedom. Attacks were made upon competitors, whose honesty and integrity were questioned while the reliability of the attacker was frequently supported by impressive seals, bank deposits or testimonials. The people were not prepared to judge critically either America books or guides. The average person had great faith in any printed word.

The amazing thing was neither the credulity of emigrants-to-be nor the mercenary interests of companies and agents competing with one another, but the magnetic power of America. It was the idea of America as a land of opportunity rather than skillful propaganda by immigrant agents that created an interest in America. When once the idea to emigrate was born, then the guides were studied with a purpose, and large scale migration from Sweden to America followed.

This large emigration from Sweden led to efforts not only by states but also by church groups to channel the movement. The Augustana Synod sought to call the attention of emigrants as they left Sweden, as well as of the immigrants upon their arrival in America, to communities where the synod had organized congregations.

Märtha Ångström provides an excellent description of many of the guides in "Swedish Emigrant Guide Books of the Early 1850's" in the *Yearbook of*

the American Swedish Historical Foundation for 1947. Roy Swanson's "Some Swedish Emigrant Guide Books of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century" in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America* for 1926 deserves attention as does, of course, the long list of guides mentioned by Stephenson in his *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration.*

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Chapter Five

THE SWEDISH IMMIGRANTS IN AMERICAN LIFE. GENERAL CONTRIBUTIONS

The references below are of significance in a study of the many varied aspects of life among the Swedish immigrants in America. They are of importance in a study of the distribution of the Swedes in America. The largest number of Swedes are in the Middle West, but large settlements are to be found elsewhere. Their distribution was determined by many factors such as the degree of success of immigrant agents of land companies, railroads, states and other agencies interested in recruiting immigrants; improvements in transportation and communication within the United States; family ties and religious sentiments. The element of time of arrival in America was important in its relationship to changing conditions within the United States. To the immigrant, America was a land of opportunity, and, therefore, the prospects of work and the nature of work as well as such long range factors, as could be measured in terms of homes and farms were important. The economic developments in the United States from 1840-1914 were very significant factors in the distribution of the immigrants. The publications of the United States Bureau of the Census constitute a major source in the study of the distribution of our immigrants in America. The sources below are important in supplementing these.

But the immigrant literature is in many ways unsatisfactory. It contributes little to explaining how the economic changes in New England toward the end of the nineteenth century influenced the migration of Swedes to New England rather than in some instances to the older Swedish settlements in the Middle West. Nor does the material seek to relate the shipment of the iron ore from the Iron Range of Minnesota across the Great Lakes to the role of the Swedish immigrant. The material does not have a satisfactory answer for the part that the Swedes played in the development of the furniture industries of Jamestown, N. Y., Grand Rapids, Mich., and Rockford, Ill., or the role of the Swede as a lumberjack in the Far West. If any answers are suggested in relating the occupations of the immigrants to their interests in Sweden these are vague and not too reliable.

A careful study of the immigrant literature reveals a lack of proper perspective. Again and again it is admitted that the Swede played an important role as a farmer and a skilled or unskilled laborer. This is largely taken for granted while the immigrant literature concerns itself more with the "successful" immigrant, the one who has succeeded especially well in industry, business or the learned professions. The history of agriculture in many such states as Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas has been profoundly influenced by the Swedish immigrants.

The American labor movement could hardly become the strongest force in an age which shared the views expressed by Andrew Carnegie in his

article entitled "Wealth" in the *North American Review* of June, 1889. The immigrants, who had arrived from Sweden prior to this time were largely unacquainted with a labor movement. Sweden began her rapid industrialization after 1890. But as the labor movement grew in that country more and more of her immigrants began to take an active part in the American labor unions. In some trades such as carpentering and tailoring the Swedes were more important than in others. The role, however, of the Swedish laborer is one which receives even less attention in the references below than the role of the farmer. This illustrates how very unsatisfactory the immigrant sources are in many respects. Again and again they must be supplemented by other sources. What these might be in regard to the farmer and the laborer seems rather obvious. The section on "Bibliography of Bibliographies" offers a few references which are helpful. From those references it is evident that the immigrant cannot be removed from his milieu. The "America books" should by all means be consulted.

The sources below are more satisfactory in describing the origins of the earliest settlements and the life of the pioneers. The emphasis is again and again upon the personal element, and much of the literature is apt to become biographical in nature. Though "success" is measured by strange yardsticks, the immigrant sources clearly testify to the rise of the children of the immigrant in the social and economic scale. The trend was away from the plow of the farmer, the hammer of the carpenter, the needle of the tailor, and the ax of the lumberjack. Unfortunately the immigrant literature does not explain this change in terms of the urbanization of America, vast changes in American way of life and in attitudes. Somehow the Swedish tailor was crowded by equally skillful craftsmen from Southern Europe and finally the needle seems to have been lost in the ready-to-wear clothes. Once upon a time the Swedish immigrant looked upon a farm and a home as the realization of a dream. Agricultural crisis upon crisis, when at times corn was cheaper to use for fuel than coal and wood, seemed to make farming less attractive. The struggle for existence was no less easy in the city. The arrival of immigrants from other parts of Europe combined with racial and religious prejudices strengthened an already strong desire to advance in the social and economic scale, so to speak, to move to another neighborhood. The middle-class consciousness was strong among the Swedes, as the literature below well illustrates, and it explains the strange slanting of nearly all references with their emphasis upon "success." But it would perhaps be truer to say that the literature of the immigrant illustrates how rapidly the immigrant became American in his thoughts and ideals.

It has been impossible to include constitutions and bylaws of Swedish organizations in America, even though no great number of these have been preserved. Moreover, few of them have been catalogued in the libraries.

The Royal Library has an interesting collection of articles written by John Ericsson. They are of a scientific nature and are not included in this body of materials. Ericsson became an important symbol to the Swedish immigrants in America. In their eyes he turned the tide of the Civil War in favor of the North.

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Chapter Six

CHURCH AND EDUCATION

The historian who concerns himself with the Middle Ages and Europe prior to 1648 finds it impossible to ignore the role of the church in the lives of men. Historians interested in Europe since 1648 or in American history relegate the role of the church to a place of little importance or ignore it entirely. A study of immigration to America and the immigrants in America raises a question as to the soundness of the latter approach to history.

The religious cause might not have been the most important one for emigration from Europe, but it is one that touches the deepest emotions. It is perhaps true that more than half of the Swedish immigrants did not affiliate themselves with a church organization, and, except for that small number which found a degree of satisfaction in secular fraternal organizations in combating loneliness, these immigrants soon lost their identity. As individuals they might well have made many important contributions. Later some perhaps joined an "American" church in order to satisfy either a spiritual or social need, but they left no impressive records accessible to the historian. Their story might be found in the materials listed under the subdivision of life of the immigrant in general. But it would be true to say that the shadow of the Cross extends also to this material. The larger general works on the Swedes in America contain chapters on the church and its special institutions. Swedish clergymen who visited America were, of course, more interested in the immigrant church than laymen were, but even laymen give considerable attention to the church in their "America books." The impact of religion upon the life of the immigrants made itself felt in almost every endeavor and not least in art, music, and literature. The secular organizations were numerous and met a distinct social and perhaps even a cultural need, but they flourished only as long as new immigrants provided them with an impulse for existence. World War I, improved social and economic conditions in Sweden, and the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 provide an epitaph upon the tombstones of many secular immigrant organizations. The inscription is a brief one, and the record of their existence is largely to be found in the secular immigrant press.

The church survived the decline in immigration and blended with the general American scene. Its records are complex and rich and would virtually dwarf all other immigrant sources, if these were listed in their entirety. Here would be the records of local congregations numbering several thousands, but unfortunately these have not been cared for as they should have been. Most of the local churches prepared special jubilee publications for important anniversaries such as the tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, seventy-fifth, etc. A few of the congregations have recently celebrated their hundredth anniversary. Thus it became evident that many churches have published no less than four or five anni-

versary publications, and if these jubilee pamphlets or booklets were to be included they would require the major space in a bibliography of several hundred pages longer than the present one. Yet they do provide information on the arrival of the first Swedes in a given community and the circumstances under which a church was founded. Later they might have some genealogical value, if local church records have been destroyed.

The church was the agency through which the immigrant preserved his identity the best. It offered him an opportunity to associate with his own countrymen, to worship in a manner which was familiar to him, to speak the language of his childhood, and to preserve customs dear to his heart. Struggling churches became strong and prosperous as immigration increased; schools and colleges were founded to meet the demands for teachers, organists, and preachers. The church began to minister to the old as old folks' homes were established, and it cared for its sick and orphaned through the founding of hospitals and orphanages. The church with its many institutions of learning and mercy is by far the mightiest monument built by the immigrants in America.

Below are listed sources on the Augustana Synod, now called the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church; the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America, earlier known as the Mission Friends; the Swedish Baptist Church in America, now called the Baptist General Conference of America; the Swedish Methodist Church in America, now merged with the Methodist Church; the Evangelical Free Church and other smaller church groups. These sources include materials on central, regional, and local organizations of the church and are invaluable in the study of the distribution of the Swedes. They contain literature on the founding of settlements and pioneer life in which biographical material often looms large. Here are to be found personal recollections, accounts testifying of deep piety and a belief in a supernatural guidance of God in the destiny of the poor immigrants brought to the land of Canaan.

The average historian would wish to focus his attention upon the larger church unit, and here the sources are rich in books, pamphlets, and articles which throw an invaluable light upon almost every aspect of the life of the immigrant. These should by all means be supplemented by the documentary sources preserved in the archives of the various colleges and seminaries founded by the immigrants. The printed minutes are unfortunately not complete for all the larger church units, but there is no lack of other sources to fill in possible gaps. One of the most important sources would be the chief organs of the various denominations, and a large number of articles have been selected from these without thought of being exhaustive.

The records of the larger educational institutions of the church are not readily classified, nor are most of them too pertinent for inclusion. Among these are the financial records, the meetings of the board, the faculty, the records of the registrar, none of which are printed. The schools and colleges, like the local churches and the larger central units, had their jubilee publications, and these are most often important historical sources. The records of the institutions of mercy such as old folks' homes, orphanages, and hospitals have not been preserved carefully, and the printed records dealing specifically with these are few and unsatisfactory. For a study of these the student must turn to whatever sources these institutions may have

preserved on their own initiative rather than to those preserved by the colleges of the church and the Royal Library of Sweden. Additional references of value would be scattered articles in journals and periodicals. When these institutions published bulletins, as was the case in a few instances, these should, of course, be consulted even when they are quite incomplete.

A careful study of the sources listed below will reveal that, though these are adequate enough for several future doctoral dissertations, the church failed to preserve many of its records. The Augustana Synod was perhaps most successful in caring for its important historical sources. It appointed early in its history a church historian, whose duty it was to collect and preserve the records of the church. This was Erik Norelius, to whom the Augustana Synod is greatly indebted. Unfortunately neither he nor T. N. Hasselquist, as president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, succeeded in securing the co-operation of all the clergy of the synod in preserving the records of the church. There were even periods when the work of collecting and preserving materials was entirely neglected, and at no time did all the denominations co-operate in this work so important to them all.

The files of the Royal Library illustrate the extent of this failure of co-operation. Augustana College is more fortunate, as the Linder and Swan collections presented to the college contain many valuable references on all the church groups, though they duplicate those pertaining to the synod.

* * *

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MINUTES AND REPORTS

The most significant sources on the activities of the various church groups are the minutes. These consist of reports, proceedings and similar records of church conferences. Unfortunately they have not always been preserved, but the Augustana Synod is unusually fortunate in the preservation of these important sources. These minutes of the Augustana Synod consist of the records of the larger body known as the synod as well as of the regional organizations known as conferences, and they are to be found in the archives of Augustana College. The printed minutes of the synod were known as the *Augustana Synod Protokoll,* 1860-1884; *Referat,* 1885-1920; *Minutes,* 1921-1936; *Report,* 1937-1953. Within the last few years the name of the church has been changed to the Augustana Lutheran Church. Within the Augustana Synod an organization existed for a time known as The Association of English Churches which had records called *Minutes,* 1908-1912; *The Story of the Association of English Churches,* 1913-14; *The Association of English Churches of the Augustana Synod,* 1915-23; *Synopsis of Proceedings,* 1924-30.

The Augustana synod is organized into many conferences and their printed reports are complete in the Royal Library except for the last decade and a half. The California Conference referred to its minutes as *Referat,* 1888-1922; *Minutes,* 1923-32; *Résumé of Minutes,* 1933-37; *Minutes,* 1938-. Undoubtedly, the minutes of the Canada Conference are important too and should be listed. They were *Referat,* 1913-1928; *Protokoll,* 1929; *Referat,* 1930-1933; *Minutes,* 1934-. The Columbia Conference minutes were known as *Referat,* 1888-1921 and as *Minutes,* 1922.

The Illinois Conference minutes are known as *Protokoll,* 1878-1888; *Referat,* 1888-1922; *Minutes,* 1923-32; *Résumé of Minutes,* 1933-37; *Minutes, Convention,* 1923-1929; *Minutes,* 1930-1942; *Report,* 1943-. Minutes of the Illinois Conference prior to 1878 have not been published except for those which appeared in *Tidskrift för Svensk Evangelisk Luthersk Kyrkohistoria i N. Amerika . . .* (Rock Island, 1899). In this volume the minutes of the Mississippi, Chicago, and Minnesota conferences are published for the years 1864-1869 and 1858-1868 respectively. The minutes of the first conferences and first congregations of the Augustana Synod have been translated by I.

O. Nothstein in *Selected Documents Dealing with the Organization of the First Congregations and the First Conferences of the Augustana Synod* (AHP, v. 10-11). A printed copy of *Protocoll hållet vid ett gemensamt möte af Chicago* och *Mississippi Evang. Lutherska Conferenser; Chicago från den 4 de till och med 9 de januari 1853* (Chicago, 1853) is found uncatalogued in the Royal Library. *The Minutes of Northern Illinois Synod's Annual Meeting at Dixon, Illinois, in 1856* was published in Swedish and is found among uncatalogued materials at the Royal Library.

The Iowa Conference minutes were known as *Protokoll,* 1869-1884; *Officielt Referat,* 1885-1920; *Official Minutes,* 1921-1928; and *Minutes,* 1929-. The Kansas Conference records are known as *Protokoll,* 1870-1886; *Referat,* 1887-1923; and *Report,* 1924-. The earliest printed Minnesota Conference minutes are to be found in *Tidskrift* of 1899. The other minutes were known as *Protokoll,* 1870-1886; *Referat,* 1887-1896; *Officielt Referat,* 1897-1922; and *Minutes,* 1923-1949.

The minutes of New England Conference were known as *Förhandlingar,* 1913-1931 and *Minutes,* 1933-. New York Conference has its *Protokoll,* 1879-1886; *Officielt Referat,* 1887-1892; *Förhandlingar,* 1905-1925; and *Minutes,* 1925-. The Red River Valley Conference had its *Referat,* 1913-1927, and *Minutes,* 1928-; the Superior Conference its *Referat,* 1910-1913; *Förhandlingar,* 1914-1920; and *Minutes,* 1921-1950 and Texas Conference its *Minutes,* 1923; *Annual Convention,* 1924-1926; and *Minutes,* 1927-.

The printed minutes of the Swedish Baptist General Conference and its conferences are far from complete. The most complete record is *the Annuals for the Swedish Baptist General Conference* from 1890 to the present time. A few scattered printed minutes are available for the earlier years, 1879-1889 and from 1856-1878 (except 1861-1862) at Bethel College and Seminary. As in the case of the Augustana Synod *Minutes,* the records of proceedings changed name from time to time. Sometimes they were known as *Årsberättelser,* and for a long time as *Statistik öfver Svenska Baptisförsamlingarna i Nord Amerikas Förenta Stater,* then again as *Årsbok* or *Årsberättelser.* As the proceedings changed gradually during 1930-1935 from Swedish into English they became known as *Annuals* and all of the minutes might well be referred to as *the Annuals of the Swedish Baptist General Conference.*

But most unsatisfactory are the records of the separate conferences, which were numerous. These are so incomplete that it is questionable if they should be mentioned. Many of their minutes were perhaps never printed. Some of them might be found in a local church, and a few in the archives of Bethel College or Minnesota State Historical Society. Perhaps the names of the conferences together with dates would afford the best possible guide to these proceedings or minutes which might or might not be found. These conferences were in their proper historical order as follows: Tri-State Conference, 1856-1858; Illinois Conference, 1856-1864; Minnesota Conference, 1858-; Illinois-Iowa Conference, 1864-1883; Western Iowa and Nebraska Conference, 1872-1883; South Dakota Scandinavian Conference, 1874-1911; South Dakota Swedish Conference, 1912-; Iowa Conference, 1883-; Nebraska Conference, 1883-; Missouri Conference, 1884-; Wisconsin Conference, 1884-; The Swedish Baptist Conference of North Pacific Coast 1891-1894; Swedish Baptist Conference of Washington, 1894-1904; Swedish Baptist Conference of Western Washington, 1904-; Oregon Conference, 1898-1930; Columbia Con-

ference, 1930-; Upper Michigan Conference, 1893-; Lower Michigan Conference, 1893-; Michigan Conference, 1884-1893; California Conference, 1899-; New York Conference, 1899-; Middle East Conference, 1903-; Colorado Conference, 1915-; North Dakota Conference, 1902; Texas Conference, 1898-. The last two conferences lasted but a short time. These conference records seem most often to have been referred to as *Årsbok* but sometimes they were called *Protokoll.* The Baptist conferences were small and resembled more the districts into which the Augustana Synod Conferences were organized.

The Swedish Methodist Church never organized as a separate entity of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Thus the minutes of the larger body should be consulted, and particularly useful would be the *Minutes of the Rock River Conference after 1855; the Minutes of the Minnesota Conference after 1856, and the Minutes of the Wisconsin Conference after 1854.* At a General Conference of the American Methodist Episcopal Church at Baltimore, Maryland, in 1876, a petition from the Swedish Methodist churches of the Middle West to organize into a conference was granted. Thus was born the Swedish Northwest Conference. The printed minutes of this group are called *Nordvestra Svenska Årskonferensens Protokoll 1878, 1893, Förhandlingar 1877, 1879-1892 Methodist Episcopal Church in America.* In 1893, owing to the great distances and problems created in traveling, this body petitioned the General Conference for the privilege to organize into three separate conferences, a petition which was granted. Thus after 1893 there were three conferences of Swedish Methodist churches and these were the Central, the Western, and the Northern conferences. Printed minutes of these conferences include *Methodist Kyrkans Svenska Central Konferens Protokoll,* 1894-1927 (1906-1907); *Norra Svenska Konferensens Årsbok,* 1894-1928 (1911); and *Vestra Svenska Konferensens Årsmöte; Protokoll Methodist Episcopal Church in America* 1894-1928 (1894-1913). In 1901 the General Conference granted the privilege to the Swedish churches in the eastern states to organize into the Eastern Swedish Conference. *Östra Konferensens Årsbok* for 1901-1941 should be available. At the Royal Library is found *Methodist Episkopal Kyrkan. Protokoll fört vid . . . första svenska allmänna, delegerade konventet hållet i Evanston, Ill., 1914.* In 1928 the three Swedish conferences of the Middle West asked the General Conference for the right to merge, and as a result there was organized the Swedish Central Northwest Conference. Some of these minutes are to be found in the Swedish Methodist Historical Library at Evanston, Illinois, and others at the Garrett Seminary Library. The Royal Library files are quite unsatisfactory.

The minutes of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America are complete after its date of organization in 1885. These are known as *Svenska Evangeliska Missionförbundets Årsberättelser,* 1885-1931, or *Protokoll öfver . . .* 1885-1890; *Referat,* 1891; *Årsberättelse,* 1892, and as *The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America Yearbook* 1932-1934; *Yearbook of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church,* 1937; *The Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America Yearbook,* 1938 to present. The conferences of the Covenant Church started as "mission societies" such as Mellersta Östern, Nedre Michigan, Nordvästra Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, Iowa, Nordvästerns, Södra Dakota, Montana-Idaho, Norra Västkusten, California and Red River-dalen, and these gradually after several changes became "con-

ferences" such as California, Canada, Eastern Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Lower Michigan, Middle East, Midwest, Northwest, North Pacific and South Dakota. The lack of permanency is seen from the organization of these conferences eight years later (in 1948) when these were California, Canada, Central, East Coast, Great Lakes, Iowa, Lower Michigan, Middle East, Mid-west, Northwest, North Pacific and Southwest. It is very doubtful that these conferences published their minutes with any regularity. No such minutes have been found.

Attention should also be called to the *Minutes and Proceedings of the Evangelical Lutheran General Council of North America after 1867.* A few of these from 1867 to 1891 were called either *Referat öfver Förhandlingarna* or *Utdrag af Referat.* Of the above *Minutes and Proceedings* the Royal Library has volume 1 for the year 1867 and volumes 15-19, 21-22 and 33. Of these only volumes 21 and 33 were printed in Swedish. The complete title of the first reads: *Evangelisk Lutherska General Conciliet i Norra Amerika. Berättelse öfver Förhandlingarne vid 21: a års mötet i Minneapolis 1888.*

Women have played a very important role in the history of the church. The complete records of the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the Augustana Synod are preserved at Augustana College, but the Royal Library has also the record for *Kvinnornas Hem och Hednamissions Förenings Årsmöte Hållet i Chicago, Ill. 1913* and *The 31st Annual Convention of the Women's Missionary Society of the Illinois Conference, Joliet, Ill. 1930.*

Besides these more important records, of which the Royal Library has only satisfactory files for the Augustana Synod and its conferences, there are records of minutes of hospitals, charitable organizations, and local churches. The Royal Library has *Amerikanska Bibelsällskapet. Utdrag ur, den sextionionde årliga rapporten, Maj, 1885 and Maj, 1877.* The reports of the local churches were sometimes called *Annual Meeting of . . .*; at other times *Reports* or *Årsrapporter* or *Redogörelse.* These have never been collected systematically.

Chapter Seven

RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR LITERATURE

The literature of the immigrant was of both a religious and secular nature. The former was the more abundant. It consisted of thousands of books, pamphlets and tracts. It is doubtful that much of this material will ever serve a useful purpose to the historian except to provide him with an index to the religious thoughts of the immigrants. As such it would reveal the strong Anglo-American, and even Calvinistic influences on the immigrant, or a form of Christianity characteristic of evangelical Christianity in America during the 19th century. It is obvious that this literature can not be sampled though it might have some value to future historians. It is a literature which might be significant only in a study of denominational particularism as expressed in dogmas and faiths.

A great deal of the religious literature, perhaps most of it, came directly from Sweden. It consisted of the works of those men who figured prominently in the religious awakening in Sweden during the 19th century and of men and women whose names are not as familiar as those of Rosenius, Fjellstedt, and others. The book catalogues of publishing houses and book stores associated with the immigrants give ample evidence of the quantity of this form of literature, which is not included in this bibliography. Some of it was imported, other parts of it were republished with or without the consent of the authors and often in more than one edition.

The dependency of the immigrant upon the religious literature of the mother country expressed itself undoubtedly in other ways. There must have been a great deal of plagiarism by individuals who were not conscious of anything wrong in the copying of materials. If the idea expressed in a sentence was sound and orthodox, to whom did the idea belong if not to the church? From this it is evident that the standards of the religious literature were not high. There were exceptions. All of the denominations had men who had secured their university training abroad, and in many instances those were men of great ability with perhaps even literary talent. A few others had made the most of the educational advantages found among the immigrants.

None could escape the heritage of the immigrant which the church in a special sense sought to preserve. This consisted of the focusing of attention among other things upon certain customs associated with the old country. Much of the religious literature centers around such customs as those of Christmas, when burning candles brought back memories from Sweden. This religious literature was characterized by a nostalgia for the old mother country and a longing for the eternal home. But this was not a major characteristic of the religious literature, which was narrowly sectarian and orthodox. It reflects also strong Calvinistic influences which encouraged a relentless war against evils as the immigrant church became a crusading

church. Peace was a dream and never a reality in the controversial sectarian literature. At no time was all quiet upon the religious front, and a more tolerant mind of the 20th century might well wish to see the 19th century entirely forgotten, for even the best and the noblest mind of that period seemed to fail to rise above the common religious prejudices.

Toward the end of the 19th century many American churchmen had been profoundly influenced by Darwinism. Humanism had made itself felt upon the religious views of others. But neither naturalism nor humanism made an appreciable inroad upon the orthodoxy of the clergy of the immigrant churches. A few immigrants affiliated with more liberal-minded church bodies sought to win converts to their less orthodox views, but their efforts largely failed. The influence of Victor Rydberg of Sweden upon the immigrants was negligible. This was not true of P. Waldenström, whose teachings on the question of atonement became the object of the bitterest controversy. It is doubtful that the immigrants understood all the implications in this controversy, and the immediate impact of the thoughts of Waldenström were not entirely liberalizing, though their humanizing force cannot be denied.

These things are mentioned only to justify the sampling of religious literature which on first sight might seem unimportant. Thus the Augustana Synod, though profoundly influenced by the American environment and a form of Calvinistic puritanism, became in a strange sense the heir of the Established Church of Sweden, which it surpassed in its orthodoxy, intensified by sectarian struggles in America. To an even greater degree it became the heir of the political conservativism of the Established Church. The other church organizations' origin is intimately associated with the folk movements in Sweden, including political liberalism, and here a consciousness of social ills was more readily recognized.

The stress placed upon religious literature does not minimize the importance of the secular literature, but here, too, the immigrant turned preferably to well-known Swedish writers and poets. These were essentially those of the 19th century, and the interest in these was evident from the shelves in bookstores and the libraries of the immigrants. A striking example of this form of literature might be secured from a study of the Swedish Historical Society library turned over to the Minnesota State Historical Society for preservation. The collection is described in the *Yearbook* of the former society. (See bibliography.)

The preference for the literature of the home country placed the immigrant writer of prose and poetry in a difficult position, even though his literary efforts grew directly out of the environment. This prose and poetry was written in Swedish by and for immigrants, and it reflects the reactions of the immigrant to the American scene. Its chief characteristic was a dual love, expressing loyalty to the country of adoption and an affection for the old country. Frequently it sounded a note of melancholy and loneliness as it mirrored the adjustments to American life. Sometimes it expressed that belief in the future resting upon progress and the triumph of democracy based upon individual freedom that was so typically American of the 19th century. Thus old age and youth challenged one another in the literature of the immigrant. It could hardly be understood in Sweden, and it could not be understood by Americans. As a result it was not a literature which

was to live. It represented a passing phase of American history without a European parallel.

This literature cannot, therefore, be easily evaluated. It falls short of acceptable European as well as American standards. But it must be admitted that it did not suffer in quantity. The biographical data collected by Otto Robert Landelius indicates that all the immigrants who came to America from Sweden were not necessarily persons whose education was limited to a public school education and an ability to read and write. A number of them had a secondary education and a few had a higher education. They could perhaps not be compared to the German intellectuals who played such an important role in American history, but many of them like the Germans were sometimes hostile to the church.

It is the presence of this group of immigrants that explains the large number of weekly Swedish newspapers and periodicals in America. They loved to write and wrote on the slightest provocation. They wrote under signatures and pseudonyms which seemed to have given them personal satisfaction while inflating their ego. These signatures and pseudonyms are easily identified by consulting either Linder or Skarstedt. They constituted in a sense a literary guild, which imposed high standards upon itself. They were one another's severest critics, and they did not hesitate to express their sharp criticisms. These men were most often associated with the immigrant press, and this eventually influenced their intellectual honesty as the existence of a newspaper depended upon public opinion. Some of them had perhaps never been men of great character and integrity, and it was not difficult for them to make compromises. This was especially true of those who had been sent to America because they were the black sheep of the family. But America did not always have the desired results, and some black sheep continued to remain black. One or more of these would be ranked among the foremost members of the literary guild of the Swedish immigrants. But even the poet who was a drunkard was capable of expressing much the same sentiments and longings as the best of poets among the clergymen.

Years are swiftly passing since these men and women wrote of their dual loyalties and their own experiences in America in both prose and poetry. The things they wrote might not be important for themselves, but they are already the object of romanticization. The novelist and poet of Sweden, a distant relative to the immigrant of long ago, has turned increasingly to the theme of emigration from Sweden. The children and grandchildren of the immigrant are turning with interest to literary materials left by the immigrant. There is a strong possibility that literature based upon the immigrant theme will develop on both sides of the Atlantic. In the growth and development of such a literature this guide might serve a small but useful purpose in the discovery of the literature of the immigrant. But it is well to remember that the immigrant writers of religious and secular literature wrote for little or no rewards and for a none too appreciative public.

A good history of Swedish-American literature is yet to be written, though excellent beginnings are to be found in the works of Skarstedt, Söderström and others, and the articles by Bonggren, Linder, and Swan are superior. Special attention should be called as well to the annuals called *Valkyrian* and *Prärieblomman.*

A time arrived in the life of many immigrants when they felt that they could express themselves better in English than in the language of their native land or parents. Yet some of these were immigrants in their thoughts and reactions to things both American and Swedish. In other words they possessed the dual loyalties so characteristic of the immigrants. Their works of prose and poetry expressing this peculiarity could be classified either as "immigrant literature" or American literature. These persons represent a period of transition in their ideals, thoughts, and interests, and they could well represent a second generation immigrant.

But in most instances the second generation immigrant preferred to disassociate himself from the cultural heritage of his parents and especially from an immigrant complex, while the third generation immigrant, according to Marcus L. Hansen, is more interested in the background of his grandparents. If this is true, it might be expected that more and more the immigrant is going to become the object of a major interest in our literature.

No writer could have been more American than Carl Sandburg has been. This stamps him as a second generation immigrant, and it is only in his old age that he looks back upon his childhood and his parents and all of his memories from an immigrant background with a more appreciative understanding of his immigrant heritage. *Always the Young Strangers* is an excellent source on the early life of Sandburg, but it is much more than this. It is the story of the Americanization of many second generation immigrants. It is an important contribution to our immigrant literature.

A third generation complex and a general desire to understand other people better with the decline of isolationism are responsible for romanticizing the role of the immigrant and the country of his origin. This is evident in the number of books for children as well as works of fiction written by descendants of immigrants and by others. The role of the immigrant before a halo had been placed around him after World War I is also significant when it is portrayed by American novelists. But these forms of literature are an integral part of American literature and, therefore, outside of the scope of this bibliography.

Few immigrants have won a name for themselves as great American novelists. Among the Swedes there is no Rolvaag. But Gösta Larsson was born in Sweden and came to America at an age which gave him deep impressions of the labor movement in his native land. He is not a well-known novelist even though he might deserve attention. One of his novels deals with the causes of emigration from Sweden. The better known Swedish novelist Moberg has recently immigrated to America where he has sought in his recent novels to capture the background of immigration to America and the adjustment to American life.

* * *

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Chapter Eight

ART, MUSIC, AND THE THEATER

Music is frequently associated with the Swedish immigrants. The singing societies were as much a part of their life as of that of the German immigrants. These societies were organized into regional and national associations and sponsored musical festivals in connection with their conventions. The repertoire consisted chiefly of old-country songs dear to the heart of the immigrant. Most often the programs included songs by Gunnar Wennerberg. Swedish and American patriotic songs were sung with the same depth of feeling. Important as was the role that these societies played in the life of the immigrants, their historical records have not been well preserved.

The most important records on art and music pertain to the church and its educational institutions. A large number of editions of hymnals and religious songs can be found. Here it is possible to observe the impact of a religious heritage and an American environment. Music was stressed at academies and colleges and it became the function of these to prepare organists and choir directors as well as ministers. Catalogues of these institutions should, therefore, be consulted.

The immigrants also liked to regard as their very own such great singers as Jenny Lind and Christina Nilsson even though these were not immigrants. Especially the former has been the object of a constant interest. Sweden has continued to send artists to America among whom are to be found well-known movie actors and actresses as well as opera stars. The literature on these people is too extensive for inclusion in this bibliography. Carl Milles' reputation as a sculptor was international before he decided to make America his home. He has been the object of several biographies and his art has been widely discussed.

The historical collections at Augustana, Bethany, Bethel, and other Swedish centers are disappointing as they relate to art and music. The materials collected by the respective schools of music of these colleges would aid very little toward an understanding of the immigrant's contribution to music. Some of the material would consist of translations of songs and hymns, recital programs, catalogues of the schools of music and a few original compositions particularly when these were definitely associated with the church, as in the case of contributions of A. L. Skoog found at North Park College. The Scandinavian Music House of New York City and Dalkullan Publishing and Importing Company of Chicago have been interested in Swedish music, of which the latter has published a great deal.

A student of immigration is very ready to acknowledge America's debt to the immigrant for his contributions to American art and music. The Swedes in most instances loved music and, therefore, it might be assumed that they did make a significant contribution in this field. It has also been said that the Swedes possessed an artistic sense. Yet a study of this bibliography

will reveal that among their immigrants the only names which loom large are those of Jenny Lind, Christina Nilsson and Carl Milles, the sculptor. Nor can these be considered to be immigrants. Such a composer as Hanson at the Eastman School of Music is a second generation immigrant. Thus, the contributions of the Swedes in art and music are to be found elsewhere than in the names of great artists. The music that the immigrants loved was the "folksy-music" and their religious music, and it was this kind of music which created a nostalgia for the old country as the immigrants came together to sing. No over-all study has been made of the contributions of the Swedish immigrants. Closest to this kind of study is Carl Nelson's doctoral dissertation which is mentioned in the "Bibliography of Bibliographies." It is the most important work done so far in the field. Other bibliographical references are sketchy, local or regional, atomistic or specialized. Lawrence Albert Anderson's master's thesis, *The Swedes of Lindsborg, Kansas, and Their Cultural Institutions: Bethany College and the Messiah Chorus,* is remarkable only for its inadequate bibliography. The Benson and Hedin volume, *Swedes in America,* contains a few chapters on architects, artists, composers, and opera singers which might at least provide some clues. E. Gustav Johnson's bibliography on the works of a Mission Covenant composer should be consulted.

It has been said that the Lutheran church is a singing church, and most of the Swedes were Lutherans. Perhaps Edwin T. Lieholm's doctoral dissertation at the Union Theological Seminary for 1945 might be helpful as an indirect aid. It is entitled *The Lutheran Chorale as a Congregational Hymn.* Ernst W. Olson's article "Svensk konst i Amerika" in Hildebrand's volume offers a number of leads on individual artists.

Oscar Emanuel Olson's master's thesis at Northwestern University in 1941 entitled *A. L. Skoog: Pioneer Musician of the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America* contains a very complete bibliography of Skoog's works, hymns, anthems, etc. Lee O. G. Olson's thesis for the doctorate at the Union Theological Seminary in 1946 entitled *History of Swedish Church Music* should also be consulted as well as E. E. Ryden's *The Story of Our Hymns.*

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Chapter Nine

NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS, AND ANNUALS

The Swedish-American press includes a large number of weeklies, monthly journals and annuals. Experiments were made in the publication of daily newspapers, but these soon proved to be failures. Many of the weekly newspapers were entirely secular, while others had strong ties with a definite church group. The ties with the church could vary in strength and in importance. Those with the strongest religious interest aimed to do little else than to provide their readers with devotional literature, and their news items would center upon the church. Among these weeklies are to be found a number which had a great and continuous influence upon the life of the immigrants. These included the chief organs of the several denominations which sought to appeal to a circle of readers scattered over almost all of the United States. Their span of life was usually long even though the name of the weekly was sometimes changed. These papers faced almost from the very beginning competition from periodicals with a more regional appeal. Frequently these had only a local interest. Literally hundreds of congregations began to publish their own monthly journals, which sometimes consisted of syndicated articles and illustrations providing little that was original except perhaps a page dealing with news about the local churches. Often these rose suddenly upon the scene to disappear as quickly. In a few instances they enjoyed a long life surviving even a change in language from Swedish to English, while retaining their characteristics as parish papers.

The story of many of the religious weeklies and periodicals is essentially the same. The central organs remained the chief spokesmen of the larger denomination on matters of faith, creed, polity, etc., while regional papers generally remained regional and local remained local. But there were exceptions when regional organs challenged the domination of the central ones with a degree of success, and a solution sometimes had to be found in a merger. Sometimes a local paper aspired successfully to become a regional journal, the organ of a district or a conference. In fewer instances yet, its transformation was more complete when it became a political newspaper. The great mortality rate among these religious periodicals and parish papers and the failure of any institution to collect these with any thoroughness makes a study of them disconcerting. Consequently not all regional religious journals and scattered parish papers are included in the guide.

The mortality rate was no less great among the secular newspapers. A few of these have, however, as long a record of continuous existence as the major religious weeklies. Some of those which were published in Chicago had more than a regional significance. Otherwise the secular newspapers tended definitely to serve a given region. A few of these sought to concentrate upon the Eastern States or New England, while others appealed to the Middle West or the Far West. A number of successful newspapers were

even more local in their scope of interest. This division of labor seemed necessary. It was difficult to compete for subscribers on a national basis, and the reputation of the larger Chicago papers seemed greater than their financial status warranted or their national influence justified. The same reputation was enjoyed by those newspapers which were known as important regional newspapers. It seemed both logical as well as less costly to win local support and in this way avoid competition from the already existing newspapers. Many newspapers were ill-fated adventures, started on almost no capital, and when they failed to secure immediate support they were discontinued. Sometimes enough capital could not be raised to publish more than the first week's issue expressing all the hopes of the publisher and the editor. Thus the story of the Swedish-American press is filled with hopes never realized.

The developments described above both in regard to the religious as well as the secular press have their significance to a historian. They make possible a more intensive study of the distribution and occupations of the immigrants. They provide almost a third dimension, namely, that of depth, to the study of the immigrants in America. Through these newspapers it is possible to see the life of the immigrants as they lived it. There is hardly an aspect of life not mirrored in the press. Here are to be seen the lighter side of life with its laughters and joy and its more serious side of tears and sorrow. Here birth and death walked hand in hand.

The third dimension of depth is less evident in the interests of the immigrants in events abroad in the old country and in reactions to events of international significance. On these scores originality was not a virtue of the Swedish-American press. The scissors were used more readily than the pen in news items of the above nature. Among the many common features would be one consisting of letters from subscribers. These are one of the most valuable sources on the life of the immigrants. Here each person recounts his experiences in America. Only the print or ink and the grade of paper is the same. No historian has made use of these excellent primary sources on American history.

G. N. Swan has given a good description of the literary periodicals and annuals published by the Swedes in America. A few had high literary standards, but it is doubtful that many deserved the name of literary journals. There were those which sought to appeal to a family circle of readers, and these might be called home journals. Others contained humorous stories from the old country and some interesting illustrations which are original. The best known of the artists of these illustrations was Gus Higgins who found few virtues in himself. Upon his tombstone he requested that an epitaph should be written stating that though he was a careless, shiftless drunkard he was not a hypocrite. Almost every type of magazine and journal was represented in the Swedish-American press. Fate was harsh to the best and the poorest. Some of these journals sought to identify themselves with a church group, and this connection was reflected in the content of the journals. The publication of monthly journals and quarterlies represented a venture involving an element of great financial risk. It was not easy to secure support for a journal, and regardless of how carefully it might have been gauged or blue printed, it could prove a costly failure after a few months or a year.

Annuals involved less of a risk, and there were many of these. Sometimes only one number of an annual was published, and from a technical point of view one might question whether such a volume is an annual. Then there were calendars and almanacs, most of which have little or no significance. A few of these were little more than advertising media of local merchants of a given community. This was true of many Christmas calendars or annuals. The Royal Library has a special collection of these for the years 1870-1933.

A list of the most important religious weeklies and secular newspapers would be very brief. The list of important literary journals and annuals would be even smaller. The church affiliation is an important index as to the major characteristics of many of the journals and annuals, but it would not be an index to their merits. Without denying the importance of other church affiliated journals and annuals, it seems likely that *Ungdomsvännen* and *Prärieblomman,* together with the secular annual *Valkyrian,* represent the best literary efforts among the Swedish immigrants. A tangible and objective yardstick of judgment is, of course, absent, but needless to say several journals and annuals set their standards too high rather than too low for success.

The Swedish-American press is also represented by the publication of newspapers which were no more than "flysheets" advertising land for sale, or the platform and candidates of a political party. The average life span of a Swedish-American newspaper was short. These special publications serving a very limited purpose under the cloak of being newspapers were of even shorter existence.

One of the major problems in the preparation of the list of newspapers and periodicals is the question of which ones should be included. The items listed below are essentially newspapers, journals, and annuals which have been preserved. The references are more inclusive than those included under other chapters as these represent perhaps the best general source on the Swedes in America. Those not found at Augustana College and the Royal Library in Stockholm might be found at one of the colleges founded by the immigrants. College catalogues and bulletins have not been included in this bibliography, but these can be found on file in the libraries or offices of the respective colleges.

If possible, the newspapers, periodicals, and annuals are identified as weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies or annuals if this fact is not apparent in the title, and religious affiliation is indicated where it existed and when the title does not make this clear.

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Amerika-narren. Published by the Scandinavian Workers' Educational Society, Chicago, Sept.-Nov. 1927. A monthly.

Arbetaren. Cadillac and Grand Rapids, Mich. 1890-1894. Merged with *Svenska amerikanaren* in 1904.

Arbetaren, New York, 1896-1928. A weekly publication of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Society, and after 1906 of the American Scandinavian Labor Union. A continuation of *Skandinaviska amerikanska arbetetaren.*

Arbetarens vän. Worcester, 1891-1892; 1896-1898. A weekly which changed name to *Nya fäderneslandet* in 1899. I had represented a merger of *Blixten och dundret* after 1895 with *Arbetaren* and *Arbetarens vän.*

Arenan, tidskrift för hemmet och ungdomen. [C] Minneapolis, Jan.-April 1902. Bought and absorbed by *Linnea.*

Argus. Boston, Mass., 1893-1899. A weekly.

Ashland bladet. Ashland, Wis., 1902-1907. A weekly. A continuation of *Ashland posten.* It was later absorbed by *Svenska amerikanska tribunen.*

Ashland posten. Ashland, Wis. 1901-1902. Changed name to *Ashland bladet.*

Astoria bladet. Astoria, Ore., 1915-1918. A weekly.

Astoria rapport. Astoria, Ore., 1915-1918. A monthly.

Augustana. Månatlig tidskrift för Svenska lutherska kyrkan i Amerika. Chicago. 1869-1873. Merged with *Rätta hemlandet* in 1869. It was called after 1873 *Augustana. Luthersk kyrkotidning.*

Augustana. Luthersk kyrkotidning innehållande "nytt och gammalt" ur Guds ord och församling. Rock Island and Moline, 1874-1889. 1879-1889 continued as *Augustana och missionären, vecko-tidning för kyrka och mission.*

Augustana och missionären. Rock Island, 1879-1889. The name of *Missionären* dropped in 1889. It was a continuation of the old *Augustana* and still older *Rätta hemlandet.*

Augustana. (Augustana. Luthersk kyrkotidning . . .) Tidning för den Svenska lutherska kyrkan i Amerika. Rock Island, 1889-. A continuation of *Augustana och missionären.* In 1950 it became *Augustana lutheranen, den svenska upplagan av Augustana Lutheran,* and in 1952 it was called *Augustana lutheranen.*

Augustana almanack. Rock Island. This almanac contains various information about Augustana Synod, listing names of pastors and their addresses. It has been published for many years by the Augustana Book Concern. Discontinued 1947.

Augustana annual. Rock Island, 1948-. A continuation of *My Church* and the *Augustana almanack.*

Augustana foreign missionary monthly magazine. Rock Island, 1926-1938.

Augustana Historical Society publications. Rock Island, 1931-. Often a part of the Augustana College Library publications.

Augustana Hospital bulletin. Chicago, 1929-1931.

Augustana journal, Rock Island, 1894-1907. Continuation of *Alumnus,* which had been a publication of the Alumni Association. In 1895 the Augustana Book Concern took over its publication.

Augustana Lutheran, Rock Island, 1950-1951. (See *Lutheran Companion.*)

Augustana Luther Leaguer. Chicago, 1923-. A young people's journal of the Augustana Synod.

Augustana missions. Minneapolis, 1948-. An Augustana Synod publication devoted to home and foreign missions.

Augustana observer. Philadelphia, New York, and Rock Island, 1881-1885. Represents an effort to publish a religious periodical in English.

Augustana och missionären. Veckotidning för kyrka och mission . . . Rock Island, 1879-1889. Formerly *Augustana. Luthersk kyrkotidning.*

Augustana quarterly. Rock Island, 1922-1948. A theological quarterly. Continued as *The Lutheran quarterly* of Gettysburg, Pa.

Augustana theological quarterly. Rock Island, 1899-1917.

Aurora. Chicago, 1892-1893. Weekly political newspaper.

Aurora. Place of publication unknown. 1891-1892. Temperance journal.

Aurora. Kristlig kalender. Utgifves af Svenska missionsförbundet i Amerika. Chicago and Minneapolis. 1899-1933. A Covenant yearbook.

Axplockerskan. Omaha, 1900-1904? Quarterly. A publication of the Deaconess Institute of Omaha, Nebr.

Balder. Rock Island, 1890-1891. A student literary publication which was continued as *The Lyceum annual.* A publication of the Phrenokosmian Society and the Adelphic Society. Both Swedish and English text.

Banéret. [B] Minneapolis and St. Paul, 1901-1911. A continuation of *Svenska baptisternas tidning* which had been published in Burlington, Ia. It became a weekly in 1903.

The Baptist evangel. Chicago, 1931-1940. A monthly publication of the Baptist General Conference.

Den barmhertig samariten. Chicago, 1888. Only one copy of this monthly (June) published in behalf of the Augustana Hospital.

Barnens julkalender . . . [Published by *Minneapolis veckoblad.*] Minneapolis, n. d.

Barnens tidning. Rock Island, 1896-? A magazine for children, published bi-monthly for several years.

Barnhemsvännen. En ropande röst från Gustaf Adolfs barnhem 1912. Jamestown, 1912.

Barnvännen. [L] New York, 1874-1875. Boston, 1875-1878. Chicago, 1878-1888. A monthly.

Barometern. Sioux City, 1884-1886. Continued as *Nybyggaren,* published at Sheldon, Ia.

Basar-trumpeten. Boston, 1902. Only one number dated Dec. 1902, published in behalf of the singing festival in Boston, June, 1903.

Beacon. The New York Conference Lutheran beacon. Rock Island, 1930-1933.

Betania (or Bethania). Rock Island, 1905-1913. A monthly publication for the La Porte District of the Illinois Conference of the Augustana Synod.

Bethania. [L] Lindsborg, 1891-.

Bethania. Evangelisk luthersk uppbyggelsetidning. Chicago, 1881-1885. Published 1882-1884 first in Burlington and later in Des Moines, Ia.

Bethany messenger. Lindsborg, 1893-. A monthly magazine devoted to the interests of Bethany College at Lindsborg, Kansas.

Bethel banéret. [B] Minneapolis, 1915-1917. A periodical aiming to promote the interests of Bethel Seminary.

Bethel herald. [B] St. Paul, 1918. A publication aimed to serve interests of Bethel Institute and of the same nature as *Acorn, Seminarie-posten, Bethel evangel* and *Clarion.*

Bethlehemstjärnan. Julkalender. [M] [Chicago?], 1889.

Bethphagebiblioteket. [L] Axtell, Neb., 1915.

Bethphage messenger. [L] Axtell, Neb., 1913-. A monthly.

Bien. San Francisco, 1882. A monthly.

Bifrost. En månadtlig tidskrift för de svenska föreningarne i Förenta Staterna. New York, 1885.

Blixten och dundret. Worcester, Mass., Oct., 1894-Jan., 1895. A weekly. Changed name to *Arbetaren* and later merged with *Arbetarens vän* in 1895, which in 1899, became *Nya fäderneslandet.* 1899-1901.

Blokadbrytaren. Ironwood, Mich., 1891-1892. A weekly and a continuation of *Michigan tribunen* to which name it returned shortly.

Bläckfisken. Utgiven av Svenska journalistförbundet i America. Chicago, [1920]. A yearbook.

Bokstugan. Organ för studieförbundet Verdandi, Chicago, 1918?

Boone svenska härold. Boone, Ia., 1896. A weekly. Iowa edition of *Nyu pressen,* Moline, Ill.

Boston allehanda. Boston, 1891-1892. A weekly.

Bref-dufvan. A Swedish religious monthly publication by the Scandinavian Mission Society. Minneapolis and Buffalo, 1912-1933.

Breidablick. Jubilee annual, published in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Gustavus College by the senior class. St. Peter, 1912.

Broder lustig; illustrerad skämttidning för svenskarne in Amerika. Chicago, 1896-1897. A humorous weekly. Continued as *Iduna.*

Brooklyn stats svenska Argus. En tidning egnad till emigration, finans, handel, industri, kultur och konst. Brooklyn, 1879-1882? A political weekly newspaper.

Brud-kronan. Minneapolis, 1888-1889. Only two numbers of this religious monthly.

Budbäraren. Luthersk missions- och traktat-tidning . . . Marinette, 1904-1909. It became *Budbäraren standaret* (anti-saloon monthly), *tidning för andlig uppbyggelse, nykterhet och upplysning* . . . [C].

Budbäraren. [C] Minneapolis, 1908-1909. A monthly.

Budbäraren. Luthersk traktat- och nykterhetstidning. Omaha, 1903-1904.

Budbäraren. Marinette, 1904-1908. A temperance journal which merged with *Standaret* into *Budbäraren—standaret.*

Budbäraren—standaret. [C] Marinette, 1909-1910. A temperance journal.

Bulletin of the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature, and Science. Minneapolis, 1941-. Published irregularly.

Bulletin of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of New York. New York, 1907-1915.

Byrackan. Worcester, 1885. A weekly.

California. [C] Turlock, 1916-. A weekly.

California journalen. Los Angeles, 1896. A secular weekly which did not meet with any success.

California posten. Los Angeles, 1906-1908. A weekly political newspaper. There was an earlier California posten from March to August of 1893 published at Oakland.

California-skandinav. San Francisco, 1873-1874. A weekly newspaper.

California veckoblad. Los Angeles, 1910-1947. This represents one of the most successful ventures among the political weeklies of the West Coast. A continuation of *Los Angeles tribune.*

Calumet posten. Calumet, Mich., 1901-1918. A weekly political newspaper.

Calumet posten. South Chicago and Englewood. 1894. Changed name to *Svenska posten.*

Candle. Annual of the Swedish Covenant Hospital School for Nurses. Chicago, 1925-. Four or five annuals published.

Challenger. n. p., 1935-? This was a publication of the Iowa Conference Luther League of the Augustana Synod and the monthly periodical was undoubtedly published in Rock Island.

Chicago bladet. Chicago, 1877. An official publication of the Evangelical Free Church. It merged with *Zions-baner* in 1879, but it retained its title.

Chicago Figaro. Chicago, 1892-1896. Merged with *Nya pressen* into *Nya pressen och Chicago Figaro* in 1896. It was a political weekly newspaper.

Chicago posten. Chicago, 1897. A weekly.

Children's friend. Chicago, 1886-1888. A continuation of *Barn-vännen* of New York and Boston. A Lutheran monthly for children.

Children's Friend. [C] Cromwell, Conn., 1919-? A bilingual monthly of the Swedish Christian Orphanage of Cromwell, Conn.

Chisago County press. Lindstrom, Minn., 1913-1915. A weekly which was probably a continuation of *Medborgaren.*

Christian Messenger. Published monthly by the Kansas Conference Luther League. Lindsborg, 1912-1914. A continuation of *Kansas young Lutheran* which began in 1908.

Christian recorder. Portland, Ore., 1934-. A Mission Covenant North Pacific Coast Conference bi-monthly periodical.

Church paper for the Cleveland district. Monthly publication for the Lutheran churches of the Augustana Synod in Cleveland, Ashtabula, Erie, Youngstown, Akron and New Castle, Rock Island, 1930-1934. A continuation of *Kyrkotidning för Cleveland distriktet.*

Church school teacher. [L] Rock Island, 1933-.

Citizen. Holdrege, Neb., 1886-1887. An English weekly for Swedish immigrants and their children.

Citizen. Moline, 1881-1883. A continuation of *Swedish citizen,* a weekly newspaper.

City missionary. Official organ of the Chicago Lutheran Inner Mission Society. Chicago, 1925-. This is a continuation of *Stadsmissionären* published from 1909 to 1924.

Colorado herald. [C] Denver, 1906-1907. A monthly which changed its name to *Baneret* and became a purely local church paper.

Colorado posten. Denver, 1882-1884. Changed name on March 14, 1883 to *Nya Colorado posten.* It returned briefly to its original name in May, 1884 only to be merged with *Svenska härolden* into *Vestern,* published in Kansas at the beginning of 1885. It was a weekly newspaper.

Columbia. Illustrerad kristlig tidning för barn. Chicago, 1886-1914?

Columbia. Denver, 1902-1904. A weekly which changed its name to *Columbia, tidning för svenska hem.* Absorbed by *Skandia* in 1905.

Columbia. Tidning för Columbia konferensen. La Conner, Wash., 1900-1908. This was a Columbia Conference (Augustana) periodical which was discontinued in 1908. Later the conference published *Sions-bladet* which was absorbed by *Columbia Lutheran.*

Columbia-Lutheran. Sions-bladet. A paper for the Swedish lutheran people in the Pacific Northwest. Tacoma, Wash., 1927. A continuation of *Sions-bladet,* a Columbia Conference (Augustana) periodical.

Compass. Seattle, 1921-1947. A publication of the Lutheran Compass Mission of Seattle.

Covenant companion. Chicago, 1923-1934. Combined with *Förbundets veckotidning* 1934 as an English edition. This is the official weekly organ of the Covenant Church. The merger of 1934 led to the birth of *Covenant weekly.*

Covenant quarterly. Kvartalsskrift för missionen. Issued quarterly. Chicago, 1905-?

Covenant quarterly. Chicago, 1940?-.

Covenant weekly. Chicago, 1935-. A continuation of *Covenant companion* and *Förbundets veckotidning,* of which it was a merger. It is an official organ of the Covenant Church.

Dakota-posten. Mitchell, 1889. A campaign paper distributed free of charge promoting Mitchell as S. Dakota's capital. Only one number. (August.)

Dakotas svenska tribun. Sioux Falls, S. D., 1900. Only one number ever published.

Deaconess banner. Rock Island and Omaha, 1921-. A publication of the Immanuel Deaconess Institute of Omaha. It was a continuation of *Diakoniss-baneret.*

De Lang and Osterlind's bulletin. Chicago, 1874. A book catalogue from May to Dec. 1874 announcing books for sale by Swedish authors.

Delaware Tercentenary bulletin. n. p., 1937-1938. Propaganda bulletin for the Delaware celebration of 1938.

Demokraten. n. p., 1890. Published in Oregon for campaign purposes. Only two copies.

Denver posten. Denver, 1898-1899. A weekly.

Denver veckoblad. Denver, 1888-1889. Became *Svenska korrespondenten* in 1889.

Diakoniss-baneret. Omaha, ?-1921. A publication of the Deaconess Institute of Omaha which after 1921 became *Deaconess banner,* an English journal promoting the interests of the Institute.

Dorkas. Rock Island, and Omaha, 1893-1919. An annual publication of the Diakonissanstalten in Omaha. For one year it was called *Kalender* and later *En hälsning* or *En julhälsning från . . .*

Drott 1914 utgiven av logen Drott, Vasaorden, Amerika. Säljes till förmån för en byggnadsfond för svenskarnas föreningshus i Washington, D. C. Stockholm, 1914. This was an annual of the Vasa Order of America. It was to promote the creation of a building fund for the society in Washington, D. C.

Dufvan. [C] Cleveland, 1894-1895; Jamestown, 1895-1897; Buffalo, 1897-1902.

Duluth posten. Duluth and Superior, 1889-1922. A continuation of *Fäderneslandet* since June 1888. Absorbed by *Svenska amerikanska posten* in 1922.

Ebenezer. An illustrated annual of the Swedish Baptist General Conference of America. Chicago, 1942-1944. Continued as *Advance.*

Epworth-klockan. [M] Chicago, 1902-1917. A youth publication.

Epworth-stjernan. [M] Omaha, 1894-?

Europeiska emigrant kompaniets kalender för 1889. Chicago, n. d.

Evangelical beacon. Official publication of the Evangelical Free Church of America. Chicago, 1931-.

Evangelii budbärare. [L] Chicago, 1890-? Continuation of Evangelii härold.

Evangelii härold. [L] Alfred Center, N. Y., 1885-1890. Moved to Chicago where its name was changed to *Evangelisk budbärare.*

Evangelisten. Galesburg, 1860. A religious monthly.

Evangelisk luthersk barntidning. Chicago, 1880.

Evangelisk luthersk tidskrift. Boston, and Brooklyn, 1875. Name changed to *Fridens härold.*

Evangelisk luthersk tidskrift. Red Wing, 1877-1878. Continued as *Skaffaren.*

Evangeliskt magazin. [B] Council Bluffs, 1878-1881.

Evangelisk tidskrift. [B] Chicago, 1878-1884. Changed to *Nya vecko-posten* after 1884.

Facklan. [B] Chicago, and St. Paul, 1877-1878?. A continuation of Zions vakt. During Jan.-July of 1877 when *Facklan* was published in St. Paul it had both religious and political editions, and was a weekly.

Facklan. Kansas City and Chicago, 1892-1894. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Svenska veckobladet.* It began in Oct. 1891 and moved from Kansas City a year later to Chicago.

Fäderneslandet. Boston, 1874-1875. A weekly newspaper.

Fäderneslandet. Chicago, 1877-1880. A weekly newspaper purchased by *Svenska tribunen* in 1880.

Fäderneslandet. Muskegon, 1901. A weekly which was formerly *Frihets baneret.*

Familje-vännen. Lincoln, 1890. A journal for the home and family.

The Fata Morgana. New York. 1881. A magazine of fantasy trying to picture the world a century after its publication. Only one copy.

Favoriten. Illustrerad literär veckotidning för hemmet. Chicago, 1894.

Finska amerikanaren. Brooklyn, 1901-1934. A weekly newspaper for Swedish-Finns in America. Continued as *Norden.*

Finska missions-posten. Worcester, Duluth, Chicago, 1909-1926.

Det flygande brefvet. Kristlig månadsläsning för Bibelläsande svenskar och söndagsskollärare. Knoxville, Ill., 1883-1884. A journal published in the interest of Ansgarii College.

Flygbladet. [C] Ishpeming, 1894-1897. A monthly absorbed by *Linnea.*

Flygbladet. [C] Ishpeming, 1907-1908. Absorbed by *Budbäraren standaret* in 1909.

Förbundets ungdomstidning. [C] Chicago, 1911-1915. A young people's monthly which changed its name in 1915 to *Förbundets veckotidning* which became *Covenant weekly* in 1934.

Förbundets veckotidning. [C] Chicago, 1915-1934. A continuation of *Missionsförbundets ungdomstidning.* In 1934 merged with *Covenant companion* into *Covenant weekly.*

Förbundsfolket. [L] Chicago, 1895. A paper devoted to the Jewish mission.

Föreningsvännen. Warren, 1901. No file is found of this journal published by the Scandinavian Union Association. It continued as *Monitoren.*

Föreningen vid Augustana College. Rock Island, 1887-1889. Also called *Lutheran quarterly review.*

Förgat-mig-ej. [L] Red Wing, 1897-1898. A religious monthly.

Förgät-mig-ej. Årskalender utgifven af Bethany College, Lindsborg. Lindsborg and Rock Island, 1902.

Förposten. Ishpeming, 1887-1888. A weekly.

Förposten. Marinette, 1892-1909. A weekly which was absorbed by *Marinette tribunen.*

Församlingen och hemmet. [B] Chicago, 1899-1938.

Församlingsvännen. Evangelisk-luthersk illustrerad tidning för Pittsburghdistriktet. Rock Island, 1905-1913.

Första Maj. New York, 1916-1922. An annual published by the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Society until 1922, when *Arbetaren* published a special first of May number.

Försvarsvännen. Brooklyn, 1896. A weekly.

För svenska hem. Minneapolis and St. Paul, 1904-1905. A monthly.

Folket. New York, 1920-1922. A weekly socialist paper which was moved to Chicago and absorbed by *Facklan.*

Folkets nyheter. Rockford, 1913-1914. A weekly.

Folkets röst. Jamestown, 1875-1884. A weekly newspaper which became *Wårt nya hem* in 1884.

Folkets röst. Providence, 1896. A weekly newspaper, which started in 1895 and seems to have lived only for a couple of years.

Folkets tidning. Omaha, 1874-1876. Changed name in 1876 to *Nya folkets tidning.* It was a continuation of *Kansas monitoren.*

Folkets vän. [C] East Orange, 1920-1928. A monthly.

Folkets vän. Stromsburg, 1885-1887. A weekly newspaper which was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanska posten,* Sept. 20, 1887.

Folkvännen. [L] Moorhead and Fargo, 1891-1892. This monthly publication aimed to promote the interests of Hope Academy.

Forget-me-not. The annual of Bethany College. Salina, 1902. Copies in both Swedish and English.

Forskaren. Minneapolis, 1894-1898, 1901-1904. Began in Rockford, Sept. 1893. An "independent newspaper" with strong socialistic sympathies. Perhaps it could be called "a religious philosophical periodical."

Fosterlandet. Chicago, 1891-1907. A continuation of *Pedagogen* and *Framåt;* changed name to *Fylgia* in 1907. It was a weekly newspaper with strong Augustana Synod sympathies.

Fosterlandet. Worcester and Boston, 1889-1890. A weekly newspaper.

Framtiden. Rockford, 1892-1894. Very incomplete files of this weekly are to be found.

Framåt. Brooklyn and Providence, 1892-1895. A weekly newspaper which changed its name to *Österns härold* in 1896.

Framåt. [B] Cleveland, 1895-1896. A monthly.

Framåt. Lindsborg, Kansas City and Chicago, 1887-1891. Changed name to *Fosterlandet.* It was a continuation of *Pedagogen,* and was a weekly newspaper with strong ties to the Augustana Synod.

Freja. New York, 1898. A magazine for women.

Freja. St. Paul, 1893-1894. An illustrated monthly family journal.

Fridens härold. Brooklyn, 1876. A continuation of *Evangelisk luthersk tidskrift.*

Frids-budet. [C] Chicago, 1884-1886.

Fridsbudet. Minneapolis, 1888-1944? A monthly religious periodical published by the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church of Minneapolis. It represents the oldest continuous local church paper.

Frihet. Ironwood, 1901-1904. A weekly which was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanska tribunen* in 1904.

Frihet och frid. Tidskrift för bibelstudium, uppbyggelse, kristlig tro, kristligt lif och kristlig verksamhet. [FC] Chicago, 1889-1891.

Frihet och fångenskap. Chicago, 1879. A monthly temperance journal.

Frihets-baneret. Muskegon, 1893-1898. A successor of *Monitor* of Muskegon. Name changed to *Fäderneslandet* in 1900.

Frihetsklockan. Chicago, 1892-1898. This temperance monthly died in 1898 but was revived in 1902 as *Vägvisaren* which in turn became *Nykterhetsbudbäraren* in January of 1905. The last periodical became the official organ of the District Lodge No. 14 of the Grand Lodge of the I. O. G. T.

Frihetsvännen. [B] Galesburg, 1859-1861. Published two times a month during 1859 and every week from 1860 to 1861.

Frisk luft. New York, 1891. An illustrated humorous weekly.

Friskytten. Minneapolis, 1891-1894. A humorous journal absorbed by *Humoristen.*

Fylgia. Chicago, 1907-1909. This is a continuation of *Fosterlandet* with less ambitious program. It aimed to be a family journal and not a weekly newspaper. It was later absorbed by *Svenska tribunen nyheter.*

Fyrbåken. [B] Minneapolis, 1893-1903. A monthly.

Fyrbåken. Månadsblad för församlingarna inom New Jersey-distriktet. Rock Island, 1907-1908. An Augustana Synod district journal within the New York Conference.

Fyrtornet. I. O. G. T. tidning för Skandinaviska Goodtemplare i Amerika. New York, 1899-1903; Boston, 1903-1905; New York, 1905-1910. A Scandinavian temperance periodical.

Galva Republican. Galva, 1869. From May to June of 1869 this weekly newspaper had a Swedish column.

Galesburgs veckoblad. Galesburg, 1868.

Gamla nordstjernan. New York, 1874. A weekly newspaper. Became *Norden* after less than two months.

Gittit. [C] Minneapolis, 1892-1908. A periodical devoted to music and of special interest to choir directors and singers.

God jul. Illustrerad jultidning för svenskarna i Amerika. Rock Island, 1916. A Christmas annual.

Good-templaren. Officiellt organ för Californien I. S. L. Chicago. Date unknown. An official temperance periodical.

Golden Northwest. St. Paul, 1880-1881. Distributed free of charge by the Northern Pacific R. R.

Gnistan. Minneapolis, 1891-1892. A Socialist-Unitarian periodical. It was later revived, and published in Chicago in 1896.

Guldax. Axtell, Neb., 1913-. Official publication of the Bethphage Mission organization. Swedish-English and Swedish edition.

Gus Brobergs kalender och svenska almanackan. Chicago, 1903, 1911.

Gustavania. St. Peter, 1891-1893. A continuation of *Heimdal*. A Gustavus Adolphus College student periodical which continued as *Gustavus Adolphus journal* in Sept. 1893, as *College Breezes* in Sept. 1902, and *Gustavian weekly* after 1913.

Gustavus Adolphus College. Jubilee annual. St. Peter, 1912.

Hälsovännen. [A] Chicago, 1888-1890. A monthly.

Harmoni. Seattle. A music journal.

Harmonia. Chicago. A music journal.

Hemfrid. Chicago, 1889-1893. A temperance journal.

Hemlandet, det gamla och det nya. Galesburg and Chicago, 1855-1914. A few numbers are also found of a European edition, 1874-1877. Bought by *Svenska amerikanaren* in 1914, and for a short time this paper was called *Svenska amerikanaren och Hemlandet* only to drop the name of *Hemlandet*. This paper represented one of the most successful weekly newspapers. *Hemlandet* was very friendly toward the Augustana Synod with which it had the closest contacts.

Hemmet, det kyrkliga hemmet. Månadsblad för befrämjande af kristlig bildning, endrägt och frid. [L] Chicago, 1884-1885.

Hemmet. Minneapolis, 1889-1891. An illustrated journal for women. Only a few numbers of it are to be found.

Hemmet. Minneapolis, 1925-1927. A literary monthly published by the owners of *Svenska amerikanska posten.*

Hemmets vän. [B] Chicago, 1903-1905. A monthly literary journal.

Hem-missionären. Chicago, 1888. This is an Augustana Lutheran Home Missionary publication. It was only published in Swedish for one year after which it was written in English.

Hem-missionären. [C] Omaha, 1892-1893. A monthly.

Hem Vännen. Rock Island, 1887-1889. A family paper which absorbed *Vårt land och folk* in 1888 and was later absorbed by Augustana in 1889. It was formerly *Ungdoms vännen.*

Hemåt. Altona, 1893-1894. A Galesburg District of the Illinois Conference (Augustana Synod) monthly periodical.

Hemåt. Luthersk traktat-tidning. För de svenska evangeliska lutherska församlingarna i California. San Francisco, 1901-1905.

Hemåt kalender. Utgifven af Otto Högfeldt. Chicago, 1895-1916.

Herderösten. A regular monthly paper published by the Scandinavian Evangelic Lutheran Pacific Conference. San Francisco and Oakland, 1888-1899.

Hjertbergs kvartalskrift. New York, 1896.

Holdrege citizen. Holdrege, Neb., 1887-1888-1889. A weekly which was a continuation of *Citizen.* In 1887 in became *Swedish American citizen* and then changed back to *Holdrege citizen* in 1888.

Home missionary. Chicago, 1889. An English tract of the Augustana Synod on home missions. It was a continuation of *Hem missionären* which came out in 1888.

Home missionary. Published monthly by the Board of English Home Missions . . . in North America. Lebanon and Philadelphia, 1913-1918.

Humoristen. Chicago, 1891-1903. A monthly until it changed its name to *Svenska nyheter.*

Hus-biblioteket. Minneapolis, 1878. A literary magazine.

Hvita bandet. Official organ of the W. C. T. U. Worcester, 1910-1916.

Idealisten. Chicago, 1905-1906. A literary monthly.

Iduna. Illustrerad veckotidning. Chicago, 1879-1899. An illustrated weekly periodical. A continuation of *Broder lustig.* It was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren.*

Illinois District Lutheran. Central Illinois District Lutheran. Published by the Central Illinois District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other states. Rock Island, 1926-1942.

Illinois Swede. Galva, 1869-1870. A political weekly which was moved to Chicago and then called *Nya verlden* in 1870.

Illustrerad kalender. [B] Chicago, 1904-1909.

Illustreradt familjeblad. Decorah, 1891.

Indiana posten. South Bend, 1899-1900. A weekly which may have continued as *Svensk-amerikanska journalen,* a paper which failed after only a few months in 1900.

Iowa and Nebraska farmer. Lincoln, 1876. An advertisement of the Burlington and Missouri R. R. land and an invitation to the immigrants to purchase its land. Only one number.

Iowa missionstidning. Red Oak, 1908-1915. A monthly publication of the Mission Covenant Ministerial Association of the Iowa Conference. It consolidated with *Förbundets veckotidning* which became "a national weekly" of the Covenant Church.

Iowa posten. Des Moines, 1903-1919. A weekly newspaper. Absorbed by *Svenska tribunen.*

"I Zenithen." Julnummer. [Duluth], 1896.

Journal för Svithiods Orden. Blue Island, 1901-1912. It became *Svithiod journalen* shortly after the periodical had been moved to Mount Morris, Ill., where it has continued until the present time.

Julbudkaflen. n. p., 1907. A Christmas publication advertising Scandinavian-American Line.

Julbrasan. Chicago, 1943-1945 and 1950. A Swedish Christmas publication of the Swedish Journalist Association from 1943-1945, revived in 1950.

Jule-grisen. Jamestown, 1884. Published by *Wårt nya hem.*

Julen. Illustrerad jul-tidning på vers och prosa. New York, [1894].

Julgranen. Chicago, 1906.

Julgubben. Chicago, 1878. A Christmas annual.

Jul-gubben. Annons-och skämttidning för julen 1887. [Chicago], 1887. A Christmas annual.

Julgåfvan. Kristlig kalender. [B] New York, 1893.

Jul-kvällen. Lynn, Mass., 1904. A Christmas annual advertising various local stores.

Julkärfven. Illustrerad julkalender. Chicago, [1907].

Julnisse. Illustrerad humoristisk tidning. Chicago, 1893-1894. A humorous Christmas annual.

Jul- och nyårsgubben. Chicago, 1878. A Christmas calendar.

Julrunan. Illustrerad tidning utgifven af Svenska vitterhetssällskapet vid Augustana College och Teologiska Seminarium, Rock Island, Ill. Rock Island, 1905, 1911-1912. A Christmas annual.

Julstjärnan. Svensk jultidning. New York, 1909-1923. A Christmas calendar.

Jul-tomten. Chicago, Dec. 1887. A Christmas annual.

Jultomten. Seattle, 1898, (1906?), (1907?), 1909, 1911. A Christmas annual.

Jultidning. Svensk illustrerad jul-tidning. New York, 1882. Swedish illustrated Christmas annual.

Jupiter (Folkets weckotidning). Manistee and Ludington, Mich., 1891-1893. A temperance periodical.

Justitia. Chicago, 1871. A bi-weekly.

Kansas City tribunen. Kansas City, 1901-1914. Formerly *Svenska pressen.* A weekly newspaper.

Kansas Conference Lutheran. Lindsborg, 1931-. This is a continuation of *Lindsborgs-posten.*

Kansas Epworth förbunds konvent härold. [M] n. p., 1910-1914?

Kansas missions-tidning. [C] Lindsborg, 1902-1923.

Kansas monitören. Topeka, 1874. A weekly which was soon discontinued. Its subscribers received instead *Folkets tidning*, which was started by the same person.

Kansas Pacific homestead. Salina, 1879. Distributed free by Kansas Pacific R. R.

Kansas posten. Lindsborg, 1882-1883. This weekly was owned by *Hemlandet* and was absorbed by it.

Kansas stats tidning. Lindsborg, 1879-1880.

Kansas young Lutheran. Organ of the Kansas Conference Luther League. Lindsborg, 1908-1911. Both Swedish and English text found in this religious monthly which continued as *Christian messenger*.

Kina-missionären. Luthersk tidskrift. St. Paul, 1908-1921. A continuation of *Luthersk tidskrift för hedamission och diakoni*.

Klöverbladet. Iron Mountain, 1913-1914. A monthly.

Kompassen. Chicago, 1887. A monthly temperance journal.

Korrespondenten. Salt Lake City, 1879-1894. A weekly which changed name in 1894 to *Utah korrespondenten*.

Korbaneret. Kristlig kalender. Chicago, Moline, and Rock Island, 1880-1949. An Augustana Synod annual in Swedish which was discontinued. Instead there has been published since 1950 an Augustana annual. *Korsbaneret* is one of the most important references on the history of the Augustana Synod,

Kring krubban. [C] Chicago, 1908-1929. A Sunday School annual.

Kurre. Chicago, 1884-1887. A weekly which changed its name to *Svenska kuriren* in Jan. 1888.

Kurre-kalender, med textbidrag på vers och prosa. Chicago, 1899-1901, 1903. This calendar was distributed among subscribers of *Svenska kuriren* as a subscription gift for many years after 1900.

Kvartalsskrift för missionen. [C] Minneapolis, 1905. A continuation of *Missionären*.

Kvinnan och hemmet. Cedar Rapids, 1893-1918. A monthly journal for the Swedish women in America. Its name was sometimes *Qvinnan och hemmet*.

Kyrka och skola. Fergus Falls, 1917-1918. This publication sought to promote an interest in Northwestern College of Fergus Falls and was a continuation of *Northwestern College quarterly* which had begun as early as in January, 1905.

Det kyrkliga hemmet. Chicago, 1884. Episcopal church paper essentially for the Ansgarii Church of Chicago.

Kyrkobladet. Tidning för Warren-distriktet. [L] Rock Island, and Warren, 1905-1911.

Kyrkohärolden. Svenska lutherska South St. Paul pastoratets tidning. St. Paul, 1907-1918. An Augustana district publication.

Kyrkotidning för Cleveland-distriktet. [L] Rock Island, 1904-1930. A monthly church paper of the district which was continued as *Cleveland church paper for the Cleveland district.*

Kyrkotidning för Jamestowns-distriktet af Svenska lutherska New York-konferensen. Rock Island, 1907-1909. A church district paper.

Kyrkovännen. Luthersk månadstidning för andlig uppbyggelse. South Omaha, 1894.

Läsning vid husliga härden. Chicago, 1880. A journal of fiction. A subscription gift of *Fäderneslandet* of Chicago.

Land och folk. Chicago, 1898-1900. This was an illustrated family journal, which was absorbed by *Fosterlandet.*

Landkänning. New York, 1915-1927. A publication of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Party in America.

Landkänning. New York, 1913-1928. A Christmas publication of the Scandinavian Socialist Labor Society.

Ledstjärnan. Organ för svensk-finska nykterhetsförbundet af Amerika. Chicago, 1905-1925.

Ledstjernan. [C] Seattle, 1906-1908. A monthly periodical published in the interest of the North Pacific Coast Mission Conference.

Den lilla missionären. Chicago, 1885-1913. A children's missionary paper.

Den lilla såningsmannen. Svensk luthersk traktattidning. Des Moines, 1889. A religious monthly of local nature.

Den lille barnvännen. Omaha, 1898-1913. An annual of four pages. A publication of the Deaconess Institute of Omaha.

Lille budbäraren. Denver, 1907. A religious periodical of the Swedish Evangelical Free Mission of Colorado.

Den lille missionären. Illustrerad missionstidning för de unga. Rock Island, 1893. Illustrated mission paper for children.

Lincoln svenska tribun. Lincoln, 1901-1902. A weekly which was moved to Omaha and took the name of *Vesterns svenska tribun.*

Lindsborg news. Lindsborg, 1881-1912. This weekly merged with the *Lindsborg record* into the *Lindsborg news and record* in 1912.

Lindsborg news and record. Lindsborg, 1912-1918.

Lindsborgs-posten. Lindsborg, 1889, 1898-1930. A weekly newspaper. It was published irregularly prior to 1898 as a monthly. Has for many years been published in English.

Lindsborg record. Lindsborg, 1897-1912. In 1912 this weekly merged with *Lindsborg news* into the *Lindsborg news and record.*

Linnea. Poetiskt album af svensk-amerikanska publicister i Chicago. Chicago, 1887. Poetic album published by Swedish-American journalists of Chicago.

Linnea. Tidskrift för hemmet och ungdomen. [C] Galesburg, and Minneapolis, 1897-1905. A monthly which was absorbed by *Minneapolis veckoblad.* Its cover contained such names as *Arenan, Linnea och dufvan.*

Linnea. Svensk-amerikansk jultidning. Chicago, 1891. A Linné Hospital of Chicago Christmas publication.

Linnean. A monthly magazine of high ideals. [C] Minneapolis, 1905-1906. Seems to have been a continuation of *Linnea, tidskrift för hemmet och ungdomen.*

Little folks. [L] Rock Island, 1928-. A Sunday School paper.

Ljufva stunder. Kristligt månadsmagasin för hem och härd. [L?] Burlington, Ia., 1897-1898.

Ljus. Officiellt organ för California skandinaviska districtloge. San Francisco, n. d. A temperance journal.

Lördags-magasinet. Chicago, 1895. A magazine of fiction. Absorbed by *Figaro.*

Lördags-nisse. Chicago, 1870. A humorous journal published from June to August of 1870.

Los Angeles tribun. Los Angeles, 1908-1909. It was a continuation of *California posten.* A weekly newspaper. Became *California veckoblad.*

Lutheran companion. Rock Island, 1911-. The official organ of the Augustana Synod. It represents a continuation of *Young Lutheran companion* and of *Augustana journal.* In 1949 it merged with *Augustana* into *Augustona Lutheran* and again became *Lutheran Companion* in 1952.

Lutheran crusader. Chicago, 1903-1904. An independent Lutheran journal for young people.

Lutheran messenger. Rock Island, 1934. A religious journal that represented a continuation of *Ungdomens sändebud.*

Lutheran monitor. Sioux City, 1939-1943. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Svenska monitoren.*

Lutheran review. Modesto, 1931-1943? A monthly organ of the California Conference of the Augustana Synod.

Luther, kalender. Jubel-året 1883. Augustana Tract Society, n. p., 1883. A Christmas calendar.

Luthersk budbärare. Annonsblad för svenska evangelisk lutherska New England konferensen . . . n. p., n. d.

Luthersk kyrkotidning. Red Wing, Minn., 1872-1873. A religious periodical absorbed by *Augustana* after December of 1873.

Luthersk qvartalsskrift för behandling af teologiska . . . frågor. Rock Island, 1887-1889.

Lyceum annual. Rock Island, 1892-1894. An Augustana College publication and a continuation of *Balder.* A literary annual. Forerunner of *Augustana Observer,* a student publication.

Lyckans stjerna. Svensk ungdomstidning. Minneapolis, 1891.

Macedoniska ropet. Utgifven i missionens intresse. Minneapolis, 1910-1913.

Mänskligheten. Minneapolis, 1897-1903. Came out for a short time in 1894 and then again in 1897. A Universalist Henry George reform paper. It was moved to Chicago in 1903.

Manhem. Gustavus Adolphus annual. 1904. Red Wing, Minn., 1904.

Manistique härold. Manistique, Mich., 1894-1909. A weekly newspaper.

Manistiques weckoblad. Manistique, Mich., 1889. A weekly newspaper.

Marinette tribunen. Marinette, Wis., 1896-1917. Absorbed *Förposten* in 1909. *Marinette tribunen* was absorbed by *Medborgaren* in 1917.

Marshall County leader. Stephen, Minn., 1884. This paper started in 1883. It contained for a time during 1884 two columns written in the Scandinavian languages.

Medborgaren. Escanaba, 1895-1920. *Medborgaren* absorbed *Marinette tribunen* Oct. 1, 1917.

Medborgaren. Lindstrom, Minn., 1901-1905. A weekly newspaper which was perhaps absorbed by the *Chisago County press.*

Medborgaren. Politisk tidning för svenskarne bland Klippebergen. Salt Lake City, 1910.

Mellersta österns missionstidning. Jamestown, 1911-. A monthly periodical of the Covenant Conference of the Middle East. It was a continuation of a local church paper called *Församlingsbladet.*

Michigan journalen. Svenska Michigan journalen. Grand Rapids, 1897-1898. A weekly.

Michigan posten. Grand Rapids, 1896-1900.

Michigan posten. Muskegon, 1890-1891. A weekly which changed name to *Monitor.*

Michigan veckoblad. Iron Mountain, 1903-1910.

Michigan stats tidning. Muskegon, 1906-1910?

Midsommar-bladet. Seattle, 1910.

Midvinterboken. [B] An annual. Chicago, 1920-1922.

Midvintersol. Illustrerad kalender för 1895. [B] Worcester, 1894.

Minneapolis veckoblad. [C] Minneapolis, 1887-1906. A continuation of *Svenska kristna härolden;* in 1906 its names was changed to *Veckobladet.*

Minnesota Conference charities. [L] Minneapolis, 1941-. A quarterly publication of the Minnesota Conference Board of Christian Charities.

Minnesota Lutheran. St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1939-1940. A continuation of *Minnesota stats-tidning.*

Minnesota posten. Red Wing, 1857-1858. A weekly absorbed by *Hemlandet.*

Minnesota posten. St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1891-1894. A weekly of which files are very incomplete. Absorbed by *Folkets nyheter.*

Minnesota stats tidning. [L] St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1895-1939. Became *Minnesota Lutheran* in 1939 and was discontinued in 1940. The above paper was a weekly newspaper, a continuation of *Skaffaren och Minnesota stats tidning.*

Minnesota stats tidning. [L] St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1895-1939. Became weekly. It merged with *Skaffaren* into *Skaffaren och Minnesota stats tidning.*

Minnesota svenska tribun. Duluth, 1893-1895. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Svenska fria pressen.*

Minnesota tidning. St. Paul, 1870. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Svenska Minnesota bladet.* Changed its name shortly again to *Svenska monitoren.*

Mission friend. [C] Chicago, 1931-. A Sunday School paper

Mission tidings. Rock Island, 1906-. The official organ of the Women's Missionary Society, Augustana Synod.

Missions-baneret. Minneapolis, 1904-1909? A Congregationalist religious periodical.

Missionsbladet. [C] Grand Rapids, 1895-1897. A district monthly which was absorbed by *Linnea.*

Missionsbladet. New York, 1902-1906. A religious periodical of the New York and New Jersey Ministerial Association of the Covenant church.

Missionsförbundets ungdomstidning. Chicago, 1911-1915. Semi-monthly second official organ of the Covenant church. Became Covenant weekly in 1915.

Mission post. [B] Chicago, 1935-? A continuation of *Missions-posten.*

Missions-posten. [B] Chicago, 1929-1934.

Missions-posten. Tidskrift för inre och yttre mission. Minneapolis, 1901-1909. An organ of Free Missions (*Fria missionsvännerna*). It was absorbed by *Missionstidningen.*

Missions-posten. [C] Minneapolis, 1927-1944.

Missions-tidning. Organ för kvinnornas hem- och hednamissionsförening inom Augustana synoden. Chicago, and Lindsborg, Kansas. 1906-1923. Continued as *Mission tidings.*

Missionstidningen. Minneapolis, 1911-1924. The official organ of the Free Church Conferences of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska. It was a bi-weekly which had absorbed *Missions-posten* and in a sense represents a continuation of it.

Missions vännen. Chicago, 1874-. Also spelled *Missions-wännen.* It was published by the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Missions Synod during its first years.

Missionären. Providence, 1888-1889.

Missionären. Battle Creek, 1890-1891. An Adventist religious periodical.

Missionären. Chicago, 1869-1873. An Augustana periodical which merged with *Rätta hemlandet och Augustana* into *Augustana luthersk kyrkotidning* in 1874.

Missionären. [C] Chicago, 1894-1905. Monthly until 1897 when it was issued two times a month. Sometimes the place of publication given as North Park.

Missionären. Moline, 1876-1878. An Augustana Lutheran mission paper which from 1876-1878 was published together with *Augustana.* In 1879 the two merged into one paper called *Augustana och missionären.*

Missionären. Månadsblad för Worcester distriktet af Evangeliskt lutherska New York konferensen. Rock Island, and Worcester, 1906-1913.

Missionären. Svensk luthersk missionstidning. Moline, 1876-1878. A monthly periodical promoting an interest in missions.

Missionären. Tidskrift för inre och yttre mission. Chicago, 1869-1873. A religious periodical absorbed by *Augustana.*

Mississippi posten. Burlington, Ia., 1898.

Moline tribun. Moline, 1910-1915. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Northern light.*

Monitor. Jamestown, 1920-. An official monthly publication of the Scandinavian Fraternity of America.

Monitor. Iron Mountain, 1900-1908. A weekly newspaper.

Monitor. [C] Muskegon, 1892-1893. A monthly.

Monitor. Chicago, 1926-1932. A political campaign paper of the John Ericsson Republican League issued during campaigns.

Monitoren. Chicago, 1878. A Greenback party organ.

Monitoren. New York, 1878, 1881. A temperance journal.

Morgon stjernan. [L?] Chicago, 1877. A journal for children issued two times a month.

Morgonstjernan. The morning star . . . En kristlig tidskrift tillegnad det svenska folket i Amerika. [L?] Gowrie, Ia., 1911-1917.

Musiktidning för Amerikas svenskar. Minneapolis, 1906-1909, 1914-1924. Chicago and New York, 1924-. Does not seem to have been published from 1909-1914.

My church. An illustrated Lutheran manual, pertaining principally to the history, work and spirit of the Augustana Synod. Rock Island, 1915-1947. An important Augustana Synod annual. It was merged with the *Almanac* into *Augustana annual* in 1948.

Myggan. Flygblad för löje och satir. Chicago, May 18, 1872. A humorous journal published by *Nya verlden.*

Nåd och sanning. Chicago, 1877-1886. An Augustana religious periodical for devotional purposes 1877-1882; it started again in Oct. 1884 and continued until 1886. In Sept. 1886 it became *Vårt land och folk,* which was continued until 1888. It then was absorbed by *Hemvännen* and published in Rock Island.

När och fjärran. Illustrerad litteraturtidskrift. Chicago, 1874-1877.

National Good Templar. Minneapolis, 1900-? A monthly of the International Order of Good Templars which has been dominated by Scandinavians during the last fifty years.

National tidning. Chicago, 1901.

Nebraska missionsblad. [C] Wausa, Neb., 1901-1903. A conference publication, which was absorbed in 1903 by *Svenska pressen* in Omaha.

Nebraskas svenska journal. Stromsburg, 1887.

New England Lutheran. West Haven, Conn., 1948-. An organ of the New England Conference of the Augustana Synod.

New England Luther Leaguer. Worcester, 1927-. An organ of the New England Conference Luther League.

New Yorks bladet. New York, 1887-1888. A weekly newspaper.

New York stats svenska Argus, New York, 1879-1881?

New York svenska härold. New York, 1886-1887. A weekly.

New York tidningen. New York, and Brooklyn, 1901-1902.

New Yorks tidning. New York, 1892. Only one number has been found. It contained text in Swedish, English, German and French.

Norden. New York and Chicago, 1874-1877, 1897. It was absorbed by *Nordstjernan.* It was a continuation of *Gamla nordstjernan* and *North star.*

Norden. Brooklyn, 1935-. A continuation of *Finska amerikanaren.*

Norden. Topeka, 1913.

Nordens medborgare. Manistee, 1889-1890. A weekly newspaper which began in May of 1889. It was moved from Manistique to Manistee shortly after it began.

Nordiska hem. Tidskrift för Amerikas svenskar. Minneapolis, 1908-1917. A periodical of general interest to Swedes in America.

Nordlyset. Minneapolis, 1917. A literary journal.

Nordstjernan. Cambridge, Minn., 1907-1910.

Nordstjernan. [M] Ishpeming, 1901-1902. A monthly youth periodical. It was moved to Chicago where it became *Epworthklockan.*

Nordstjernan. New York, 1872-. One of the most important Swedish-American newspapers still in existence. Absorbed *Norden.*

Nordvestern. Minneapolis, 1872. A weekly newspaper which existed only from July to August of 1872.

Nordvestern. Illustrerad månadsskrift. Portland, 1907.

Nordvestern-härold. Superior and Duluth, 1900-1906. A weekly which was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanska tribunen.*

Nordvesterns handelstidning. Duluth, 1902-1906. A weekly which was absorbed by *Duluth posten.* Just shortly before it had absorbed *Nordvesterns nyheter.*

Nordvesterns nyheter. Duluth and Superior, 1906. A continuation of *Nordvesterns härold* and absorbed by *Nordvesterns handelstidning.*

Nordvestkusten. Veckoblad för Washington Territory. Seattle, 1885.

Nordwestern. Sioux City, 1882-1883. A weekly which continued as *Nya nordwestern.*

Nord-östern. Worcester, 1883-1885. A weekly newspaper.

Nornan. Boston, 1896-1897. A magazine for women and home.

Nornan. Kalendern Nornan. Chicago, 1876. *Nya verlden's* premium for 1876.

North. Minneapolis, 1889-1894. A Scandinavian newspaper written in English.

Northland magazine. A literary magazine in English for Scandinavians. Minneapolis, 1898-1899.

Northland weekly. Minneapolis, 1903-1905. A Scandinavian young people's literary journal interested chiefly in the Norwegian aspect of Scandinavism.

North star. Minneapolis, 1918-1922. A Scandinavian literary periodical essentially interested in the Norwegian aspect of Scandinavism.

North star. Caribou and Fort Fairfield, Maine, 1872-1873. An English weekly with a column in Swedish. When the Swedish part was discontinued it still carried a great deal of news about New Sweden, Maine.

North star (Nordstjernan). New York, July 16, 1874. Became *Gamla nordstjernan.* A weekly.

North star. Mount Morris, Ill., 1917-. A quarterly publication of the North Star Life Insurance Society.

North star signal. Utgifven af North Star College för kyrkan, skolan och hemmet. Warren, Minn., 1910-1918. Other numbers might be found at Gustavus Adolphus College. It was published very irregularly.

Nutiden. New York, 1882-1885. A literary periodical for the home.

Nya Colorado posten. Denver, 1883-1884. A weekly. Formerly *Colorado posten.* Reverted back to the name *Colorado posten* 1884-1885 and then consolidated with *Svenska härolden* of Kansas City, Mo.

Nya folkets tidning. Omaha, 1876-1878. A continuation of *Kansas monitoren* and its successor *Folkets tidning.* Absorbed by *Svenska tribunen.*

Nya fäderneslandet. Worcester and Boston, 1899. A weekly which was a continuation of *Arbetarens vän* and *Arbetaren.* It seems to have been discontinued in 1900.

Nya idun. [C] Minneapolis, 1906-1924. A journal for women.

Nya Louisiana. Chicago, Jan., 1871. An announcement by the State of Louisiana advertising its land and opportunities for immigrants.

Nya nordwestern. Sioux City, 1883-1884. A weekly and a continuation of Nordwestern.

Nya österns weckoblad. [C] Worcester, 1896-1906. Successor of *Österns veckoblad.* Name changed to *Österns veckoblad* in 1906.

Nya pressen. Moline and Chicago, 1891-1897. A weekly. Its name was changed to *Chicago Figaro.*

Nya stilla hafsposten. San Francisco, 1879. A weekly continuation of *Stilla hafsposten.*

Nya svenska amerikanaren. Chicago, 1873-1877. A weekly which was merged with *Nya verlden* into *Svenska tribunen.*

Nya Sverige. Rockford, 1872.

Nya tiden. Seattle, 1892.

Nya verlden. Galesburg and Chicago, 1870-1877. A weekly which was a continuation of *Illinois Swede.* After a merger with *Nya svenska amerikanaren,* the name was changed to *Svenska tribunen.*

Nya verlden. Minneapolis and Story City, Ia., 1889-1893. A weekly.

Nya världen. Billingham, Wash., 1904-1909. A weekly.

Nya wecko-posten. [B] Chicago, 1884-1918. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Evangelisk tidskrift.* In 1918 it was absorbed by *Svenska standaret.*

Nya wecko-posten. Illustrerad kalender. [B] Chicago, 1904-1918. Published by the newspaper of the same name.

Nybyggaren. Svensk-engelsk tidning för svenka nybyggare i Nordvestern. Sioux City and Sheldon, 1886.

Nykterhetsbasunen. Holdrege, Neb., 1890. Only a campaign temperance publication which after a few months in 1890 was absorbed by *Svenska journalen* of Omaha.

Nykterhetsbudbäraren. The temperance messenger. Officielt organ för de svenska logerna af I.O.G.T. . . . Chicago, [1909].

Nykterhets-budbäraren. Organ för distrikts-logen No. 14 af I.O.G.T. Chicago, 1900-.

Nykterhetsklockan. Absolut nykterhet. Sann människokärlek. Chicago, 1893. A temperance journal.

Nykterhets tidning. Ishpeming, 1901. A temperance journal which might have been a continuation of *Julbladet.*

Ny tid. Chicago, 1926-1931. A continuation of *Svenska socialisten;* i. e. *Facklan* and *Folket* merged March 10, 1922, into *Ny tid.*

Nytt lif. Nykyrkligt månadsblad. Minneapolis, 1912-1913. A Swedenborgian periodical.

Nytt och gammalt. Kristlig tidskrift. Lindsborg, 1873-. A monthly Lutheran periodical. It came out only from April to Dec. Absorbed in 1874 by *Augustana.*

Odalmannen. 'The yeoman." Tidning för farm och hem. Minneapolis, 1905-1912. This journal of agriculture continued for a short time in 1912 as *Vestern-amerikanaren.*

Odd Fellow Orden. I.O.O.F. Guide. Yearbook 1927. Chicago, [1927].

Olivbladet. Luthersk traktat- och nykterhetstidning. Paxton, 1901-1918. This was a Paxton and Bloomington district publication. In 1918 the name was changed to *Olive leaf.*

Olive leaf. A Lutheran Sunday School paper published monthly by the Augustana Tract Society . . . Moline and Rock Island, 1883-.

Omaha posten. Omaha, 1904-. It was one of the successful weekly newspapers. It was a continuation of *Svenska journalen tribunen.* It has been published in English since Sept. 1942. It also absorbed *Vesterns svenska tribun.*

Omaha svenska tribun. Omaha, 1887-1892. This weekly was bought by *Svenska journalen.* The name was changed to *Svenska journalen tribunen* after the merger of the two papers.

Oregon posten. Portland, 1908-1936. A weekly which is one of the most important sources on the Swedes in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. It might have been a continuation of *Svenska Oregon posten.* In 1936 *Oregon posten* merged with *Svenska journalen* into *Svenska posten.*

Orkanen. Worcester, 1888. A weekly.

Österns härold. Brooklyn and New Britain, 1896-1913. A weekly which represents a continuation of *Framåt,* which had been moved from Providence to Brooklyn in 1894. It was an organ of the New England Conference of the Augustana Synod even though it was interested in politics.

Österns veckoblad. New York and Boston, 1890-1896. A monthly continuation of *New Yorks missionsblad* which became a weekly in 1892 when it was moved to Boston. In 1896 it was absorbed by *Missions-vännen.* Sometimes name was spelled *Österns weckoblad.*

Österns weckoblad. [C] Worcester and New Britain, 1907-1920. A continuation of *Nya Österns weckoblad.* In 1917 this weekly was moved to New Britain, where it died in 1929.

Österns väktare. [L] Jamestown, 1888-1890. A weekly newspaper which continued as *Vårt land.* A New York Conference organ.

Östra posten. Worcester, 1886-1889(?). A weekly. Might have continued as *Östra vecko-posten.*

Östra vecko-posten. [B] Worcester and Minneapolis, 1889-1896(?). Merged with *Missionsbladet* into *Svenska baptisternas tidning.* It might have been a continuation of *Östra posten.*

Our America. Jamestown, 1875. Previously called *Vårt land.*

Our children's home messenger. Stanton, Ia., 1921-1932. An official publication of the Augustana Lutheran Orphanage Home of the Iowa Conference.

Our church. Published by the Red River district of the Lutheran Red River Valley congregation. n. p., 1926-1928.

Our Covenant. Chicago, 1925-. A Covenant yearbook of great importance.

Our Covenant little folks. Chicago, 1930-. Covenant publication for the children in Sunday School.

Our Covenant youth. Chicago, 1930-. A Covenant Sunday School publication.

Our young Covenanters. Chicago, 1930-. A Covenant Sunday School publication.

Påsklilja. Seattle, 1907-? An Easter annual.

Pacific tribune. Seattle, 1903-1914. A continuation of *Westerns tribune;* in Oct. 1914, the paper was sold and its name changed to *Svenska Pacific tribunen.* It was a weekly and is an important source on the history of the Swedes in the Pacific Northwest.

Papegojan. Humoristisk månadstidning. Seattle, Dec. 1897.

Pedagogen. Lindsborg and Rock Island, 1885-1887. A continuation of *Academia.* Later the name was changed to *Framåt.* A monthly.

Pegasus. Annual of North Park College students. Chicago, 1930-. Poetry in Swedish and English.

Pennsylvania posten. McKeesport, 1894-1897. A weekly.

Pietist. Galesburg and Keokuk, 1873. This publication contained chiefly translations from religious literature of Sweden. It was named after the well-known Swedish religious periodical.

Pilgrimens mål. Chicago, 1905-1908. A religious periodical.

Pingst-liljan. Seattle, May, 1909.

Pocatello tribune. Pocatello, 1892. Started as a weekly in Swedish and became an English daily.

Politisk skrift. Grand Rapids, 1888. A political campaign paper.

Polstjernan. New York, 1897.

Postens farm-tidning. Minneapolis, 1912. A supplement of *Svenska amerikanska posten.*

Posten. Organ för Skandinaviska distriktslogen No. 27 af I.O.G.T. Warren, Penn., [1912]. A temperance journal belonging to the I.O.G.T. District-Lodge No. 27.

Prärieblomman kalender. Rock Island, 1900-1913.

Presiding elder's ideal quarterly conference record. [M] Chicago, 1908-09, 1910-11. Personal records of Alfred Anderson, Superintendent of Chicago District, Central Swedish Conference.

Providence allehanda. Providence, 1891-1892. A weekly edition of *Boston allehanda.*

Puget Sound posten. Tacoma, 1907-1935. A weekly which was a continuation of *Tacoma posten.*

Qvinnan och hemmet. See *Kvinnan och hemmet.*

Räddningslinan. Published by the Scandinavian Women's Alliance Mission. Minneapolis, 1909-1939.

Det rätta hemlandet. Galesburg and Chicago, 1856-1873. The oldest periodical belonging to the Augustana Synod. In 1863 its name was changed to *Det rätta hemlandet och missionsbladet.* In 1869 it merged with Augustana into *Rätta hemlandet och Augustana* and in 1874 it became *Augustana, luthersk kyrkotidning.*

Reformation. Worcester, 1900-1910. This temperance journal, an organ for *Svenska nykterhets förbundet* of Worcester and Eastern Skandinavian Grand Lodge of I.O.G.T., was begun in 1900 as a political campaign paper and continued with 3 numbers annually after 1905.

Revolt. Chicago, 1911-1916.

Rockfords allehanda. Rockford, 1884-1886. A weekly which changed its name in 1886 to *Svenska fria pressen.*

Rockford posten. Rockford, 1889-1911. A weekly which continued after 1911 as *Svenska posten.*

Roman-biblioteket. Tidskrift för skönlitteratur. Chicago, 1885. A journal of fiction published two times a month.

Rothuggaren. The Radical. Egnad till afskaffande af fattigdom, okunnighet, elakhet, okyskhet, fylleri, orättvisa, lagvrängning och allt ondt. Lichtfield and Grove City, Minn., 1880-1886. It was published only for a short time in Grove City during 1881. Paper written in both English and Swedish, became English entirely in Sept. 1885. During 1884 the paper used the subtitle of *Swedish and English anti-monopoly Greenback labor monthly journal.* The word "*monthly*" dropped soon. Once "*temperance*" used instead of "*Greenback.*"

Sabbatsskolans lexblad. Chicago, 1879. A Sunday School paper which continued as *Den lilla missionären.*

Samfundet St. Erik i New York årsbok. Jenny Lind nummer. An annual of the Society of St. Erik.

Sanatorie bladet. Denver, 1910. A monthly publication of the Sanatorium at Denver during 1910.

Sändebudet. [M] Rockford and Chicago, 1862-1948.

Sanningen. Ishpeming, 1888. A campaign paper for the Labor party.

Sanningen och enebusken. Chicago, 1888-? An annual advertising Lundeen's juniper ale. It was published before the turn of the century and was continued for some years.

Sanningens härold. En illustrerad religiös tidskrift för hemmet, egnad åt kristlig religion, profetiornas förklaring och förkunnandet af Kristi

andra uppenbarelse. [SDA] Battle Creek, Mich., and Kristiania, Norway, 1884-? A continuation of *Svensk advent härold* and *Advent härolden.*

Sanningens tolk. Minneapolis, 1906-1912. A monthly periodical devoted to information in the Scriptures.

Sanningens vän. [B] Minneapolis, Kiron, Ia., and Grundy, Minn., 1901-1922.

Sanning och frid. Illustrerad kristlig tidskrift för hemmet. New York, 1885-1894.

Sanning och frihet. Minneapolis, 1896-? An organ of the Free Church which continued after 1910.

Sättaren. Moline, 1879.

Scandia. Chicago, 1867. An advertisement of Scandia, a sick and benefit society.

Scandia Life news. Chicago, 1906-1914. An advertising medium of Scandia Life Insurance Company.

Scandias stjerna. Omaha, 1868-1869. A religious periodical which was a continuation of *Väktaren.*

Scandinavia. A monthly journal. Chicago, 1881-1886. A literary journal entirely in English.

Scandinavian-American. Seattle, 1945-1947.

Scandinavian-American. Spokane. A periodical in English of very brief existence.

Scandinavian Fraternity review. Scandinavian Fraternity of America. A bimonthly fraternal and literary magazine, illustrated. Official organ of the Scandinavian Fraternity of America. Spokane, 1916-1917.

Scandinavian Good Templar. Minneapolis, New York and Chicago, 1900-1935. This is *Skandinaviska good templaren* begun as the publication of the Minnesota Scandinavian Grand Lodge of I.O.G.T. Later it was moved to New York and Chicago where it became *Scandinavian Good Templar* and died in Sept. of 1935.

Scandinavian times. New York, 1911. A monthly periodical discontinued after the publication of four numbers.

Schibboleth. [L] Moline and Chicago, 1878-1879. Very incomplete files of this periodical dedicated to a war against secret societies.

Sharon. Lindsborg, July 14, 1887. An advertisement of "good" land for sale.

Signalen. College View, Neb., 1907-1913. One of many periodicals published by International Publishing Association of Seventh Day Adventists. They include *Svensk advent härold,* 1873-1879, which changed name to *Advent härolden,* 1880-1884, which changed name to *Sanningens härold,* which merged with *Sions väktare,* 1891-1893, and became *Sions väktare och sanningens härold,* 1893-1897, and continued as *Sions väktare,* 1898-. Oldest of these papers prior to 1903 published at Battle Creek, Mich.

Signalen. Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 13, 1886.

Silverhill nyheter. Silverhill, Ala., 1901-1907. A monthly published to promote interest in the land around Silverhill; changed its name to *Silverhill agriculturist.*

Sions banér. See *Zions banér.*

Sions-bladet. A paper for the Swedish Lutheran Church in the Pacific Northwest. Tacoma, 1920-1926. This was originally just a parish paper begun in 1901. It became a periodical of the Columbia Conference and was absorbed by Columbia Lutheran in 1927.

Sions-posten, gemensamt organ för Svensk Metodisterna i Minneapolis. Minneapolis, 1914-1918.

Sions vakt. [SDA] Brookfield, Ill., 1874-? A weekly which became *Sions väktare.*

Sions väktare. Illustrerad tidskrift för kyrkan och hemmet. [SDA] Battle Creek, Mich., and Brookfield, Ill., 1901-. Successor to *Sions vakt.*

Sjukvännen. Utgifven vid Immanuel [Deaconess] Hospital. Omaha, 1896-1901.

Skaffaren. Bihang till Skaffaren. [L] Wed., Oct. 20, 1880.

Skaffaren och Minnesota stats tidning. [L] St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1882-1885. This weekly was the result of a merger of *Skaffaren* and *Minnesota stats tidning;* it continued as *Skaffaren.*

Skaffaren. [L] St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1885-1895. A continuation of *Skaffaren och Minnesota stats tidning;* changed its name in 1895 to *Minnesota stats tidning.*

Skaffaren. [L] St. Paul and Red Wing, 1878-1882. A weekly which was a continuation of *Evangelisk luthersk tidskrift.* It continued in turn as *Skaffaren och Minnesota stats tidning.*

Skaffaren. Supplement till Hemlandet. [L] Chicago, [1869]. This was a premature announcement of the birth of *Skaffaren.* This paper never began.

Skämt. [Chicago, 1893.] A humorous monthly.

Skandia. Chicago, 1890-1891.

Skandia. Denver, 1906. A weekly.

Skandia. Illustrerad månadsskrift för skandinaviska hem i Amerika. New York, 1886.

Skandia. Jamestown, 1909-1946. This is one of the more important weeklies in the East and represents a continuation of the monthly periodical called Föreningsvännen started in 1901 by the Scandinavian Brotherhood Society of America as its official organ. It is an important source on the Swedes in Jamestown, and Pennsylvania. Absorbed by *Nordstjernan,* 1947.

Skandia. Moline, 1876-1878. A weekly absorbed by *Svenska tribunen.*

Skandia. New York, 1868. A monthly.

Skandia. New York, 1886. A monthly periodical.

Skandia. Sioux City, 1892-1895. A weekly which changed its name in 1895 to *Svenska tidningen och Skandia* after a merger with *Svenska journalen* of Omaha. It was then published in Kansas City, Mo., as special edition of *Svenska journalen.*

Skandinavia. Worcester, 1887-1918. A weekly which was a continuation of *Worcester veckoblad.* Absorbed by *Svea* in 1918.

Skandinaven. New York, 1851-1852. This is the first weekly newspaper published by the Swedes in America. It was written partly in Swedish and partly in Norwegian. It came out irregularly.

Skandinaviska amerikanska arbetaren. New York, 1894-1895? A publication for Scandinavians published bi-weekly (?) as the organ of Scandinavian Socialist Labor Society or Union. Continued as *Arbetaren.*

Skandinavisk bok- och musik-tidning. New York, 1890. Gives a monthly record of new publications of books and music that came out in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland as well as in this country.

Skandinavisk farmers- och industri-tidning. New York, 1876. A weekly which was a continuation of *Skandinavisk post.*

Skandinavisk härold. Omaha, 1870-1883. From Dec. 1870 to Dec. 1883 it was published intermittently as a monthly and a weekly. It was absorbed by *Svenska veckobladet.*

Skandinavisk post. New York, 1863-1875. A weekly. Its owner also published a daily with the same name from 1867-1875 and a Sunday edition in 1875.

Den skandinaviska spiritualisten. Minneapolis, 1896-1897. It continued for a couple of years as *Nya tiden.*

Skandinaviska Good Templaren. Tidning för Skandinaviska goodtemplare i Amerika. Minneapolis, 1901-1918. The periodical contained text both in Swedish and Norwegian. It was the official organ of the Scandinavian Grand Lodge of the I.O.G.T.

Sköldmön. Chicago. An official organ of the Independent Order of the Ladies of Vikings.

Skördemannen. Winthrop, St. Peter, and Minneapolis, 1888-1918. A monthly agricultural journal 1880-1888; semi-monthly 1888-1918.

Skogsblomman. Illustrerad kalender. Minneapolis and Chicago, 1899-1917. An annual of the Free Church.

Skolvännen. Moline and Rock Island, 1878-1894. A tract published promoting the interest of Augustana College. Sometimes the journal was called *Skolwännen.*

Snöfrid. Utg. av Tegnérförbundet vid Minnesota College. Minneapolis, 1916.

Södra vecko-posten. Austin, 1881. A short-lived Texas weekly.

Söndagskol-baneret. [M] Chicago, 1881-1918.

Söndagsskol-vännen. Kristlig uppbyggelse- och missionstidning för barn och ungdom. Minneapolis, 1885-1915? Became *Sunday School friend* in 1919 (?).

Söndagsskol-vännens lexblad. Quarterly. n. p., 1889.

Solrosen. [C] Topeka, 1916-1919. A monthly periodical for young people. It was moved to Winnipeg in 1919.

Solsken. Tidskrift för svenska folket. Chicago, 1913. A monthly.

Song-album. American Union of Swedish Singers, 1897, 1905, 1907, 1910, 1912.

Stadsmissionären. Official organ of the Chicago Lutheran Inner Missionary Society. Chicago, 1909-1924. The official organ of the Augustana Inner Mission. It continued as *City missionary.*

Standard. [B]. Chicago, 1940-. A continuation of *Svenska standaret.*

Standaret. [C] Marinette, Wis., 1908. Merged with *Budbäraren* and continued up to 1910.

Stilla hafs-posten. San Francisco, 1879-1882. A weekly which was published irregularly. Continued as *Nya stilla hafs-posten.*

Stilla stunder. Christligt månads-magazin för härd och hem. Worcester, [1891].

Stridsropet. New York, 1891-. The official organ of the Salvation Army in Swedish.

Superior-posten. Ishpeming, 1888-1918. A fairly successful weekly newspaper.

Svea. Chicago, 1869-1870. Perhaps the earliest effort at a short story magazine in Swedish in America. Another periodical with the same name and program came out during 1880-1881.

Svea. Chicago, 1888-1889. A periodical urging tax reform.

Svea. Illustrerad kalender. New York, 1888-1889.

Svea. Kansas City, Mo., 1885.

Svea. Worcester, 1897-. Svea became a weekly in 1901. It absorbed such papers as *Skandinavia, Svenska nyheter* and *Österns härold.* It is the most important source on the Swedes in New England.

Svensk adresskalender. Jamestown, 1909.

Svensk advent härold. En månadtlig tidskrift, invigd till praktisk kristendom, profeternas förklaring . . . [SDA] Battle Creek, 1874-1876. It continued later as *Advent härold,* 1880-1883, and as *Sanningens härold,* 1884-1886. It was a forerunner of *Signalen.*

Svensk almanacka för år 1891 utgifven af Amerikanska Emigrant Kompaniet. New York, [1890].

Svensk-amerikanska familj-journalen. Evanston, 1907-. A journal which absorbed *Svenska minnen.*

Svensk-amerikanska kalendern. Worcester, 1911, 1912.

Svensk-amerikanska pressen. New York or Brooklyn, 1896-1899. A political weekly which had a precarious existence.

Svensk-amerikanska pressen och Svenska journalistförbundet i Amerika. Rock Island, 1923. An annual of the Swedish Society of Journalists in America.

Svensk amerikanska tribunen. Superior, Wis., 1904-1920. A weekly which combined with *Duluth posten* in January of 1920 into *Svenska amerikanska Duluth posten.*

Svensk-amerikanska western. Denver, 1901-1928. A weekly which was a continuation of *Svenska korrespondenten.* In 1928 its name was changed to *Westerns nyheter.* It is an excellent reference on Swedes in Colorado and Utah.

Svensk familjejournal. Minneapolis and Evanston, 1889-1921. A literary periodical for the home.

Svensk-finska budbäraren. [C] Brooklyn, 1908-1928. It was absorbed by *Förbundets veckotidning* in 1928.

Svensk-finska sändebudet. Tidning för svensk-finska lutheranerna i Amerika. Marinette and Duluth, 1910-1921. A monthly.

Svensk kalender i Boston. Boston, 1881.

Svensk kyrko-tidning. Organ för svensk kyrklighet och bildning. Chicago and Minneapolis, 1888-1893. A religious periodical.

Svensk jul. Rockford, 1896-1916. A Christmas calendar, chiefly aimed at advertising local stores.

Svensk musik tidning. New York, 1881-1933?

Svensk stadskalender för Omaha och Syd Omaha. Omaha, [1888, 1891].

Svensk unitarisk tidning. Chicago, 1909.

Svenska almanackan. Chicago, 1916-1918.

Svenska amerikanaren. Chicago, 1866-1873. A weekly which continued as *Nya svensk amerikanaren* and later as *Svenska tribunen.*

Svenska amerikanaren. Chicago, 1877-1936. A continuation of *Svenska posten.* It has absorbed a large number of newspapers and is unquestionably the most popular Swedish-American newspaper. When it absorbed *Svenska tribunen nyheter* in 1936 the name was changed to *Svenska amerikanaren tribunen.* It had absorbed *Svenska världen* (1908); *Hemlandet* (1914); *Svenska kuriren* (1929); *Svenska tribunen nyheter* (1936); and *Svenska amerikanska posten* (1940).

Svenska amerikanarens almanack. Chicago, 1914-1933.

Svenska amerikanaren tribunen. Chicago, 1936-. New name used after *Svenska amerikanaren* absorbed *Svenska tribunen nyheter* in 1936.

Svenska amerikanska nyheter. Sioux City, 1907-1908. A weekly.

Svenska amerikanska posten. Minneapolis, 1885-1940. A weekly newspaper absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren tribunen* in 1940.

Svenska amerikanska pressen. Sioux City, 1891-1892. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska amerikanska tribunen. Superior, Wis., 1904-1920. This was a continuation of *Wisconsin svenska tribunen.* A weekly newspaper which began in 1904 and was merged with *Duluth posten* into *Svenska amerikanska Duluth posten* in 1921.

Svenska arbetaren. Chicago, 1882-1883. A weekly devoted to the cause of labor. It became *Svenske arbetaren* in 1883.

Svenska arbetarens vän. San Francisco, 1892-1893. A monthly.

Svenska baptisternas tidning. Minneapolis and Burlington, Ia., ?-1896. A merger of *Östra vecko-posten* and *Missions bladet.*

Svenska baptistförsamlingarnas i Amerika kvartals-skrift. Chicago, 1898-1899.

Svenska baptiststandaret. (Ungdoms-stjärnan). Organ för Svenska baptisternas i Amerika allmänna konferens. Chicago, 1911.

Svenska bladet. Harlem, N. Y., 1897. Only three numbers published.

Svenska Canada kuriren. Vancouver, 1914. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska dagbladet. Ashland, Wis., 1901. This daily newspaper was published from September to November of 1901.

Svenska dagbladet. St. Paul, 1885. Organ for Swedish Labor.

Svenska dagbladet. St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1888. An earlier daily called *Svenska dagbladet* was published in St. Paul in 1885.

Svenska farm-journalen. Omaha, 1904-1910.

Svenska folkets allehanda. Litchfield and St. Paul, 1883-1884. A weekly which was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren.*

Svenska folkets röst. Chicago, 1910. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska folkets tidning. Minneapolis and St. Paul, 1881-1927. A weekly.

Svenska folkets tribun. Wahoo, Neb., 1884. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska fria pressen. Duluth, 1891-1893. A weekly which changed name to *Minnesota svenska tribun* in 1893.

Svenska fria pressen. Rockford, 1886. A weekly which was a continuation of *Rockfords allehanda.* It was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren* in 1887.

Svenska härolden. Salina, Kan., and Kansas City, Mo., 1878-1884. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska härolden. Salt Lake City, 1885-1893. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska geni kåren i Chicago industri och handtverk. Chicago, n. d. An annual of the Swedish Engineers' Society of Chicago.

Svenska ingenjörsföreningen. Monthly bulletin. Chicago, 1925-1931. A monthly publication.

Svenska journalen. Omaha, 1889-1892. A weekly which in 1892 merged with *Omaha svenska tribun* into *Svenska journalen tribunen,* and became *Omaha posten* in 1904.

Svenska journalen. Rockford, 1912-1913. Very incomplete files are found of this weekly. It was essentially a newspaper for the Swedes of Rockford.

Svenska journalen. Seattle, 1926-1935. A weekly newspaper which merged with *Oregon posten* in 1936 into *Svenska posten.*

Svenska journalen tribunen. Omaha, 1892-1904. A weekly which continued as *Omaha posten.* Formerly it had been *Omaha swenska tribun.*

Svenska korrespondenten. Denver, 1889-1901. A weekly which was a continuation of *Denver weckoblad.* Continued later as *Svenska-amerikanska western.* This is one of the best sources on the Swedes in Colorado and Utah.

Svenska kristna härolden. [C] Minneapolis, 1884-1887. A weekly which continued as *Minneapolis veckoblad.*

Svenska kuriren. Chicago, 1887-1929. A continuation of *Kurre.* Purchased and absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren* in 1929. This weekly was one of the most spirited newspapers and its interpretations are colorful though perhaps not objective.

Svenska litterära sällskapet de nio. Årsbok. Upsala College. Kenilworth, N. Y., and East Orange, N. J., 1918-1930. A college literary annual.

Svenska Minnesota bladet. Red Wing, Minn., 1869. A weekly which soon was absorbed by *Minnesota tidning,* which in turn became *Svenska monitoren* in 1870.

Svenska missionsbladet i New York . . . [C] New York, 1887. A religious periodical which was absorbed by *New Yorkbladet.*

Svenska missionsbladet. [C] Grand Rapids, 1903. A periodical which failed after only one number.

Svenska monitoren. St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1870-1872. A continuation of *Minnesota tidning.* A weekly which met with little success.

Svenska monitoren. Sioux City, 1895-1939. A weekly which became *Lutheran monitor* in 1939.

Svenska monitorens midsommarnummer, 1916. A very interesting and valuable midsummer number of *Svenska monitoren* of Sioux City, Ia.

Svenska nationalbiblioteket. En månadsskrift för romaner, poesi m. m. Chicago, 1882-1883.

Svenska nordvästern. Spokane, 1907-1920. A weekly newspaper which is a good source on the Swedes in the Pacific Northwest. Backlund claims this paper continued until 1927.

Svenska nybyggaren. St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1872-1876. A weekly political newspaper.

Svenska nyheter. Boston, 1913-1918. A weekly.

Svenska nyheter. Chicago, 1901-1906. A weekly continuation of *Humoristen;* absorbed by *Svenska tribunen,* July, 1906.

Svenska nyheter. New York, 1893.

Svenska nyketerhets-tidningen Templar-bladet. Jamestown, 1891-? This information is perhaps incorrect. It may not have started before 1897. In 1909 it was moved to Hartford, Conn., and sometimes it carried Collinsville, Conn., or East Orange, N. J. as the place of publication.

Svenska Pacific-tribunen. Seattle, 1914-1946. A weekly which was a continuation of *Pacific tribunen.* In 1946 it was absorbed by *Svenska posten.* The volume number of *Svenska Pacific-tribunen* was retained by *Svenska posten.*

Svenska posten. Rockford, 1911-1918. This weekly was formerly *Rockford posten.*

Svenska posten. Chicago, 1876-1877. Changed name in 1877 to *Svenska amerikanaren.* A weekly newspaper.

Svenska posten. Brooklyn, New York, and Omaha, 1880-1894. A weekly started in New York in 1880, in Brooklyn from 1881-1884 and New York from 1884-1886. After October of 1886 it was moved to Omaha.

Svenska posten. Seattle, 1936-. A weekly representing the merger of *Puget Sound posten, Oregon posten,* and *Svenska journalen.* In 1943 it absorbed *Svenska pressen* of Spokane.

Svenska pressen. Omaha, 1903-1906. A weekly newspaper with strong Covenant leanings. Absorbed by *Minneapolis veckoblad.*

Svenska pressen. Vancouver, 1930-1937. A weekly newspaper continued as *Nya svenska pressen.* Since 1942 *Nya svenska pressen* has been published in English.

Svenska pressen. Kansas City, Mo., 1901. A weekly newspaper which changed name in 1901 to *Kansas City tribun.*

Svenska pressen. Spokane, 1932-1943. This weekly was either discontinued or merged with *Svenska posten* on May 20, 1943.

Svenska pressen. Tacoma or Seattle, 1908-1914. A weekly. Probably merged with *Westerns tribun* in 1914 into *Svenska Pacific tribunen.*

Svenska republikanen i Norra Amerika. Galva and Chicago, 1856-1858. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska revyen. Detroit, June, 1897. Doubtful if more than this number was published of this literary journal.

Svenska roman bladet. Red Wing and Minneapolis, 1889-1917. A magazine of fiction which was absorbed by *Romanjournalen.*

Svenska socialisten. Rockford and Chicago, 1905-1921. Scattered copies are found of this weekly socialist newspaper for 1909-1921. In 1921 its name was changed to *Facklan* of which no numbers are found.

Svenska standaret. Chicago, 1911-1940. The official organ of the Baptist General Conference since 1911. Name was changed to *Standard* in 1940. It was a continuation of *Nya wecko-posten.*

Svenska sydvestern. Kansas City, Mo., 1895-1899. A continuation of *Arbetarens vän;* in 1897, name simplified by dropping of "*Svenska.*"

Svenska tidningen och Skandia. Kansas City, Mo., 1895-1898. Formerly this weekly newspaper was published at Sioux City, Ia., as *Skandia,* a Kansas City edition of *Svenska journalen* of Omaha.

Svenska tribunen. Chicago, 1877-1906. A most important weekly. When *Svenska tribunen* and *Svenska nyheter* merged in 1906, the name was changed to *Svenska tribunen nyheter.*

Svenska tribunen. Seattle, 1922-1946. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska tribunen nyheter. Chicago, 1906-1936. A very important weekly absorbed in 1936 by *Svenska amerikanaren* which became *Svenska amerikanaren tribunen.*

Svenska universalisten. Minneapolis, 1887. A Universalist periodical.

Svenska Vancouver posten. Vancouver, 1910-1914. A weekly newspaper.

Svenska veckobladet. Grand Rapids, 1887-1890.

Svenska veckobladet. McKeesport, Pa., 1890-1919. A weekly.

Svenska veckobladet. Omaha and Kansas City, 1884-1891. A weekly which changed name to *Facklan.*

Svenska världen. Chicago, 1904-1908. A weekly which was absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren.*

Svenske arbetaren. Chicago, 1883-1884. A continuation of *Svenska arbetaren.*

Svithiod. Des Moines, 1883-1903. A weekly. Absorbed by *Svenska folkets tidning,* Minneapolis.

Svithiod journalen. Blue Island and Mount Morris, Ill., 1898-. The official organ of the Svithiod Order, a fraternal organization.

Swea. Chicago, 1880-1881. A fiction magazine.

Swedish American citizen. Holdrege, Neb., 1888-1889. A weekly.

Swedish-American forum. Dorchester, Mass., April-June, 1929.

Swedish-American historical bulletin. St. Peter, Minn., 1928-1932.

Swedish-American trade journal. Official bulletin of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. New York, 1916-1933.

Swedish blue book; a Swedish-American directory and yearbook for Chicago. Chicago, 1927-1930.

Swedish Chamber of Commerce of New York in the interest of trade between the United States and Sweden. Bulletin. New York, 1915.

Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Yearbook. New York, 1907-1932.

Swedish Citizen. Galva and Moline, 1880-1881. A weekly newspaper which continued as *Citizen* in 1881.

Swedish Club news. Chicago, 1912-1913. A monthly.

Swedish directory of Cleveland, Ohio, 1898.

Swedish Engineer's Society of Chicago. Membership Book. 1909-1914, 1916-1919, 1923, 1925-1929.

Swedish Engineer's Society yearbook. Chicago, 1909, 1910, 1912-1914, 1917-1919, 1923, 1925, 1929.

Swedish Engineer's Society of Detroit. Bulletin. Detroit, 1924.

Swedish Historical Society of America. Bulletin. St. Peter, Minn., 1928-1932.

Swedish Historical Society of America. Yearbook. Chicago and St. Paul, 1907-1926. Also called *Svensk-amerikanska sällskapets årsbok,* or *Svenska historiska sällskapets i Amerika årsbok.*

Swedish National Sanatorium journal. Denver, 1930. (May have begun in 1922.)

Swedish Pacific press (Svenska pressen). Seattle, 1908-1914. A weekly which had begun as *Väktaren.*

Swedish pioneer historical quarterly. Rock Island, 1949-.

Svenske republikanan i Norra Amerika. Galesburg and Chicago, 1856-1858. A weekly newspaper.

Swedish societies' old people's annual. Home Association. Chicago, 1924-1928.

Sydvestern. Kansas City, Mo., 1897-1899. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Svenska sydvestern.*

Tabitha. Kvartalsskrift från Bethesda diakonisshem. St. Paul, 1909-1914. A monthly periodical published in the interest of the Bethesda Deaconess Home.

Tacoma posten. Tacoma, 1905-1907. Weekly newspaper which changed its name to *Puget Sound posten* in 1907.

Tacoma tribunen. Tacoma, 1890-1902. A weekly newspaper which merged with *Westra posten* into *Westerns tribun* in 1902.

Templar-bladet. Jamestown, Brooklyn, Collinsville, Orange, and Hartford, 1897-1921. A temperance monthly.

Templarbladet. Templarordens tidning. Cleveland. A temperance periodical.

Templaren. Brooklyn, 1887-1888. A temperance monthly. Continuation of *Tidens frågor.*

Texas bladet. [M] Hutto, Austin, Elgin, and Georgetown, 1900-1909. Became a weekly in 1908 and was absorbed by *Texas posten* in 1909.

Texas correspondenten. n. p., Oct. 1883. This is only an announcement called in Swedish "flygblad." Only one number published.

Texas posten. Austin, 1896-. This represents the best source on the history of the Swedes in Texas.

Thule. New York, 1910. A monthly.

Tiden. Providence, 1888-1890. A weekly newspaper from 1888 to 1890.

Tidens frågor. New York, 1885-1887. A temperance journal which continued as *Templaren.*

Tidens tecken. [SDA] Brookfield, Ill., 1907-1918. This religious periodical represented a continuation of *Tidens tecken* and *Sions väktare.*

Tidningen fria ordet. St. Paul, 1896-1896. A weekly published by the former owner of *Minnesota posten* for a short time. It might have been called just *Fria ordet.*

Tidskrift. Evangeliska luthersk tidskrift. Red Wing, Minn., 1877-1878.

Tidskrift för Svensk evangelisk luthersk kyrkohistoria i N. Amerika. Rock Island, 1898-1899. Continued as *Augustana theological quarterly.* This religious periodical has unusual historical merits as a source on the early period of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America.

Tidskrift. Kristlig filosofisk tidskrift. För befrämjandet af kristlig religions kunskap. Minneapolis, 1887-1889.

Till werksamhet. Wahoo, Neb., and Rock Island, 1885-1886. A publication aimed to promote the interests of Luther Academy. Changed name to *Wahoobladet* and later it was absorbed by *Nykterhetsbasunen.*

Tjänaren. Sylwan, Pierce Co., Wash., 1906-1930. A non-sectarian religious periodical begun in Berwick, Ia.

Trasdockan. Chicago, 1913-1932. A publication of the Swedish Engineers' Society of Chicago.

Tribunen-nyheters kalender och almanack. Chicago, 1908, 1910. A calendar.

Trons-härold. Chicago. A Pentecostal paper which merged with *Sanningens vittne* into *Sanningens vittne och trons härold* which is still being published by the Philadelphia Church of Chicago.

Trons seger. [B] Minneapolis, 1888-1890.

Trons seger. Månadsskrift egnad att förhärliga Gud genom hans barns stadfästande i tron och syndarens frälsning. [B] Chicago, 1888-1890. Moved to Minneapolis before ceasing publication.

Typografer. Worcester, 1899-1900. A publication of the Swedish-American Typographical Society of Worcester.

Ungdoms-stjärnan. [B] Chicago and Minneapolis, 1907-1910. A periodical for young people.

Ungdomens sändebud. Moline, 1889-1891. A periodical for young people. It became *Young people's messenger* of the Augustana Synod.

Ungdomens tidning. Burlington, Ia., 1898-1901. A religious periodical for young people.

Ungdoms-tidningen. [B] Chicago, 1896-1897. A periodical for young people. It was moved to Burlington, Ia., and merged with *Fyrbåken* into *Baneret*. It was later moved to Minneapolis and became *Minneapolis baneret* and was discontinued in 1911.

Ungdomens tidning. Chicago, 1892. A short lived Lutheran youth monthly.

Ungdomstjernan. [B] [St. Paul?].

Ungdoms-vännen. Chicago and Moline, 1879-1887. A Lutheran youth monthly first published in Chicago and in 1881 moved to Moline. Here it began to come out two times a month in 1885. Two years later it was absorbed by *Hem-vännen,* an illustrated weekly. It was also printed in Rock Island, 1884-1887.

Ungdoms vännen. Omaha, 1893. A short lived religious periodical for young people.

Ungdomsvännen. [L] Rock Island, 1902-1918. This illustrated journal represents Swedish-American cultural interests perhaps better than any other journal. It was a continuation of *Ungdoms-vännen* No. 2. It was forced to discontinue in 1918 because of its strong German sympathies.

Ungdoms-vännen No. 2. St. Paul and Minneapolis, 1895-1899. This illustrated journal of Augustana ties represents an effort to revive the former *Ungdoms-vännen* published during 1879-1887. It was moved to Rock Island in 1899. Here it continued as *Ungdomsvännen* after 1902.

Ungdoms-wännen. Illustrerad tidskrift för främjande af sann Gudsfruktan . . . Chicago, Moline, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Rock Island, 1879-1918. An Augustana youth periodical published in Rock Island by the Augustana Book Concern after 1884. Was later discontinued and revived again in 1895. Then it was published in Minneapolis from 1895-1899, and in Rock Island from 1900-1918. Title later appears to be *Ungdomsvännen.*

Upplysningens tidehvarf. Filosofisk religiös tidning för det svenska folket i Amerika. Hutchinson, Glencoe, and Grove City, Minn., 1877-1881.

Utah-korrespondenten. Salt Lake City, 1894-1915. A weekly of great importance as a source on the Swedes in Utah.

Utah missionären. [L] Salt Lake City, 1889-1891.

Utah-posten. Salt Lake City, 1900-1935. A Mormon weekly started in 1900 and discontinued in 1935. It is an important source on the Swedes in Utah.

Utah skandinav. Salt Lake City, 1874-1877.

Vågbrytaren. Minneapolis, 1892-1893. A temperance organ.

Vägledaren. Chicago, 1887, 1916.

Väktaren. [M] Chicago, 1889. Absorbed by *Sändebudet.*

Väktaren. Evangelisk luthersk missions- och traktattidning. Rock Island and Chicago, 1904-1905. A monthly.

Väktaren. Omaha, 1868. A weekly newspaper which continued as *Scandias stjerna.*

Väktaren. Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco, 1902-1908. A weekly newspaper which changed name to *Swedish Pacific press.*

Väktare. Zions väktare och sanningens härold. En religiös politisk veckotidning för kyrkan och hemmet. [SDA] Battle Creek, 1893-1895.

Våra förfäders dag. Chicago, 1890. Illustrated journal.

Värmland, vår hembygd. Årsskrift utg. av Vermlands nation of Chicago. Chicago, 1926-1930. Christmas publication.

Vårt hem. Evangelisk luthersk illustrerad tidning. Rock Island, 1909-1913.

Vårt hem. Minneapolis, Spring Lake, and St. Paul, 1890-1897. This weekly began in 1890 at Spring Lake and was moved to Minneapolis toward the end of 1892. In 1895 it was moved to St. Paul after absorbing *Folkets nyheter.*

Vårt kyrkohem. Evangelisk luthersk illustrerad tidning. Duquesne and Munhall, Pa., 1904.

Vårt land. Jamestown, 1890-1920. A continuation of *Österns väktare.* An important weekly newspaper. It was absorbed by *Wårt nya hem.*

Vårt nya hem. En illustrerad månadsskrift egnad åt skönliteratur och allmännyttiga ämnen. Chicago, 1873-1874. An illustrated journal devoted to literature.

Vårt nya hem. Jamestown, 1884-1891. A weekly which was a continuation of *Folkets röst;* in 1891, absorbed by *Vårt land.*

Vår nya kyrkotidning. Traktat- och nyhetsblad för Providence-distriktet af Svenska lutherska New York-konferensen. Rock Island, and Pontiac, R. I., 1903-1915.

Västerns missionstidning. Tacoma and Seattle, Wash., 1921-1934. A monthly which was the official organ of North Pacific Coast Conference of the Covenant Church.

Västra härolden. Oakland, Calif., 1898. A weekly newspaper which died very shortly.

Valkyrian. Illustrerad månadsskrift. New York, 1897-1909. An illustrated monthly which was absorbed by *Ungdomsvännen* of Rock Island. It represents the best Swedish-American literature.

Vasa stjernan. Jamestown, 1908-. A monthly publication of the Vasa Order prior to 1917. It was also published at Minneapolis and perhaps at Chicago and is still being published as *Vasastjärnan* at Fair Lawn, N. J.

Vasastjärnan. Julnummer 1915. Minneapolis, 1915.

Veckobladet. [C] Minneapolis, 1906-1935. A continuation of *Minneapolis weckoblad.* Absorbed *Linnea.*

Vega. Boston, 1889-1890. An illustrated literary monthly.

Venersborg nyheter. Venersborg, Wash., April, 1911. Published by Swedish Land and Colonization Co.

Verdandi. New York, 1912. A small temperance publication which was to be published two times a month. Doubtful if it survived its first number, April 11, 1912.

Vesterlandet. Minneapolis and Stillwater, 1894-1898. A continuation of *Wägbrytaren,* a Good Templar organ. A weekly newspaper which was started in Minneapolis and moved to Stillwater in 1896.

Vestern-amerikanen. Minneapolis, 1912. A weekly which was a continuation of *Odalmannen.*

Vestern. Kansas City, Denver, and Omaha, 1885. A weekly which was a continuation of *Svenska härolden* and *Colorado posten;* later absorbed by *Svenska amerikanaren.*

Vestern svenska tribun. Omaha, 1903-1904. A weekly newspaper which represented a continuation of *Lincoln svenska tribun.* It was shortly absorbed by *Omaha posten.*

Vestern. (Svensk frisinnad veckotidning.) Eureka, San Francisco, and Oakland, 1907-1909.

Vestkusten. San Francisco and Oakland, 1887-1952. This weekly newspaper started as *Ebenezer,* a local Augustana parish paper. After only one number the name was changed to *Vestkusten,* which became a political newspaper. It has been published continuously in San Francisco except for April-August of 1906 when it was published in Oakland. It is a most important source on Swedes in California.

Vestra härolden. Oakland, 1898. A weekly newspaper.

Vestra sändebudet. San Francisco and Oakland, 1889-1914. A weekly newspaper. Sometimes spelled *Västra sändebudet.*

Vid aftonbrasan. Romantidning för den svenska befolkningen i Amerika. Chicago, 1876-1877. A fiction magazine.

Vikingen. Chicago and Mount Morris, 1899-. A publication of the Independent Order of Vikings published at Mount Morris since 1912.

Vikingen. Jamestown, 1876. A humorous periodical. Very few copies.

Vikingen julnummer, 1908. Seattle, 1908.

Vikingen. Moline and Omaha, 1894-1905. A competitor of *Nya pressen* but in 1895 urged subscribers to subscribe to *Nya pressen.* Moved to Omaha for a couple of numbers in 1896 then back to Moline, and again to Omaha.

Viking. Fremont, Neb., 1906-1907. A superior illustrated monthly periodical.

Vinter-ros. Berättelser för barn och ungdom. Chicago, 1907, 1913-1915. An annual.

Vinterrosor. Illustrerad kalender. [M] Chicago, 1903-1912. An excellent illustrated calendar.

Vintersol. Rock Island and Brooklyn, 1924-. A monthly published for the Swedish Augustana Home for the Aged in Brooklyn.

Vintervy från Österväg. Illustrerad kalender. Worcester, 1912.

Wägbrytaren. Minneapolis and St. Paul, 1891- 1894. Official organ of the Good Templars. It continued as *Vesterlandet* in 1894.

Wahoo-bladet. [L] Wahoo, Neb., 1888-1890. A monthly temperance publication which merged with *Nykterhetsbasunen.*

Wårt hem. Minneapolis, Spring Lake, and St. Paul, 1891-1894. A weekly newspaper. Sometimes spelled *Vårt hem.*

Wårt land och folk. Chicago, 1886-1888. A weekly which was a continuation of *Nåd och sanning;* in 1888, absorbed by *Hemvännen.*

Wårt nya hem. Jamestown, 1884-1891. This weekly newspaper was a continuation of *Folkets röst.* It was in turn absorbed by *Vårt land.*

Wårt nya hem. Kansas City, 1871-1872. A weekly newspaper which changed name to *Western.*

Wårt nya hem. Kearney, Neb., 1877. A weekly newspaper.

Western. Eureka, San Francisco, and San José, 1907-1909. A weekly newspaper.

Western. Kansas City, Mo., 1872. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Wårt nya hem.*

Western Lutheran. Olympia, 1937-. A monthly.

Western news. Denver, 1941-. A weekly newspaper published in English as a continuation of *Westerns nyheter.*

Westerns missionsblad. [C] San Francisco, 1892-1895.

Westerns nyheter. Denver, 1928-1941. A weekly newspaper which is an important source on the Swedes of Colorado. It is a continuation of *Svensk-amerikanska western* since 1928.

Western tribun. Seattle, 1902-1903. A weekly newspaper which was a continuation of *Westra posten* and *Tacoma tribunen;* in 1903, name changed to *Pacific tribune.*

Westra posten. Omaha, 1879-1883. A weekly newspaper.

Westra posten. Tacoma and Seattle, 1891-1902. A weekly newspaper which merged with *Tacoma tribunen* into *Western tribun* in 1902.

Wisconsin svenska tribun. Superior, 1890-1904. A weekly newspaper which changed name to *Svenska amerikanska tribunen.*

Worcester-bladet. Worcester, 1890.

Worcester veckoblad. Worcester, 1886-1887. A weekly newspaper which continued as *Skandinavia.*

Worker. Moline, 1890. A political campaign paper written in both English and Swedish.

Young Lutheran companion. Rock Island, 1907-1911. A continuation of *Augustana journal* and became *Lutheran companion.*

Young observer. Rock Island, 1892-1894. A literary monthly published to promote the Augustana University Association. Became the organ of the Alumni Association.

Young people's messenger. Moline, 1901-1911. A continuation of *Ungdomens sändebud.*

Young people's beacon, 1929. A monthly published by the Young People's Covenant of Massachusetts and Northern New England.

Zions banér. Evangelisk luthersk missions- och familjetidning. Galesburg, Keokuk, and Knoxville, 1871-1879. Chief organ of the Ansgarii Synod. Absorbed by *Chicago bladet.* Sometimes spelled *Sions-banér.* It represented a group which affiliated with the General Synod.

Zions-stjärnan. Salt Lake City, 1896-1906. A Lutheran anti-Mormon periodical.

Zions väktare. [B] Chicago, 1871. A monthly discontinued after the Chicago fire; mentioned in *Zions vakt* of 1874 which was a continuation of *Zions väktare*.

Zions väktare. Chicago, 1892. A religious periodical.

Zions wakt. [B] Chicago, 1874-1876. A monthly which was a continuation of *Zions väktare*. In 1875 it was moved to Minneapolis.

Zions wakt torn och härold af Kristi närvaro. Pittsburgh, [1884]. A translation of the periodical published by C. T. Russel. It is unknown how often a Swedish translation was published. At any rate it must have happened very irregularly.

Chapter Ten

ARCHIVE MATERIALS

The student of emigration from Sweden and immigration to America should turn his attention to America letters and a mass of primary sources which do not lend themselves to a ready classification. These sources are to be found chiefly in a few libraries or archives in Sweden and America. In Sweden these consist of the Royal Library, Nordiska Museet, Riksarkivet, the three university libraries, and the provincial archives as well as the archives of Bethel Seminary of Stockholm and other libraries. In America these sources are found represented in a richer amount at the National Archives, the Augustana College Library, the Bethel College and Seminary Library, the North Park College Library, the Gustavus Adolphus College Library, the Minnesota State Historical Library, etc.

The manuscript collection of Swedish-Americana at the Royal Library consists essentially of letters written by Ernst Skarstedt, Oliver A. Linder, and Johan A. Enander to Bernard Lundstedt who had sought information from these men while preparing his guide to the Swedish-American press. The Royal Library has an interesting collection of pictures from "little Sweden in America" as well as a collection of "almanacks" since 1871. A number of posters and flysheets prepared by steamship companies and land agents are also to be found though these are not classified or catalogued.

Nordiska Museet has a small collection of America letters and a number of pictures. This collection of "Swedish-Americana" was begun by Gunnar Granberg.

Riksarkivet has the reports of the Swedish legation in Washington, D. C., as well as the correspondence of the consular service and letters written by immigrants to the legation and consuls. Another important collection of the department of foreign affairs is the one which deals with inheritances. It has seldom been used by the student of emigration.

The university libraries of Uppsala, Gothenburg, and Lund have collections of "Swedish-Americana," but they have few America letters. Of course, the Peter Wieselgren collection at the Gothenburg Stadsbibliotek contains a number of letters from Erland Carlsson, L. P. Esbjörn, T. N. Hasselquist, P. Sjöblom and others. The Gustaf Unonius library has been turned over to the University of Uppsala Library.

In the Uppsala Landsarkiv are to be found among other things the Anna Lindewall collection of letters, clippings, and other materials pertaining to the Eric Jansonist movement in Sweden and the Bishop Hill Colony in Illinois. The many provincial archives and parish rectorates preserve the important local church records which might be of interest.

The Bethel Seminary of Stockholm has a collection of letters to and from J. A. Edgren, R. E. Jeansson, Fredrick O. Nilsson, Andrew Norelius, Gustaf Palmquist, Anders Wiberg and others. Gunnar Westin published some of these letters in his *Ur den svenska folkväckelsens historia och tankevärld.*

The collection contains also reports of Baptist leaders and colporteurs to the American Baptist Publication Society during 1856-1866 and to the American Baptist Missionary Union during 1866-1898.

Riksföreningen has a miscellaneous library collection at its headquarters in Gothenburg. It is not nearly as valuable as the private library of Otto Robert Landelius of Gråbo. This is perhaps the most extensive "biographical" library on Swedes in America found anywhere.

The archives and libraries in America are more rewarding to the students who seek primary sources on the Swedish immigrants. The National Archives of Washington, D. C. contains invaluable material on Swedish immigration to America in form of reports of ministers and consuls, materials described by Florence Janson. (See bibliography.) But the most extensive collection of materials on the Swedes in America is to be found at Augustana College.

At the Augustana College Library are to be found the very valuable newspaper and periodical clippings belonging to the Linder Collection and the Swan scrap book materials. These contain information on almost any Swede in America of any importance prior to 1935. Here are deposited the records of the Augustana Synod and the Augustana College and Theological Seminary. The records of the church and the college are of almost every conceivable description. They include the papers of L. G. Abrahamson, G. A. Brandelle, Erland Carlsson, P. A. Cederstam, L. P. Esbjörn, T. N. Hasselquist, O. Olsson, Erik Norelius, S. P. A. Lindahl, Jonas Swensson, O. C. T. Andrén, Gustav Andreen, etc. There are also letters written by prominent laymen of the church such as Jonas Engberg and Johan A. Enander.

In addition there are numerous autobiographies, diaries, reports of committees, financial records, pastoral reports, original minutes of the synod and conferences, historical accounts of churches, constitutions, and all the records of the college and the seminary. Besides these documentary sources are vast amounts of materials which have not been classified. New materials and collections are being constantly added. Recently Oscar G. Ericson of Rock Island presented a small but valuable collection to the library consisting of materials pertaining to the Swedes in the I.O.G.T. in America.

The Bethel College and Seminary Library has less materials than Augustana. Yet a complete listing of specific items found at Bethel Seminary in form of primary sources would cover several pages. These sources include Bethel Academy and College annual reports, minutes of committees, financial records, reports of committees, notes and manuscripts on the history of Swedish Baptists, unpublished minutes of conferences and churches as well as the papers of C. G. Lagergren, J. A. Edgren, Eric Sandell, F. O. Nilsson, and many others. It contains a number of diaries of which those of Olof Peterson (1860-1870); F. O. Nilsson (1855-1865); and Andrew Peterson (1855-1898) are the most important. There are also to be found brief histories of churches in manuscript form. The library contains a large collection of jubilee publications of local churches and various printed records and reports. At neither the Royal Library nor Augustana College are to be found the catalogues of Bethel College and Seminary nor its Bulletins. These would be found at Bethel.

The North Park College Collections or the Collections of the Covenant

Historical Commission compare favorably with the historical collections at Bethel College. They include the papers of Charles Victor Bowman, A. L. Skoog, Erik August Skogsberg, David Nyvall, C. B. Johnson, C. E. Backström, A. G. Nelson, Axel Mellander, Nils W. Lund, C. A. Björk, E. G. Hjerpe, Henning Gustafson, A. T. Frykman, Carl Hanson, and biographies, minutes, financial records, etc.

At Gustavus Adolphus College Library a collection of important documents is to be found. Most of these are related to the Minnesota Conference and to Gustavus Adolphus College and include the papers of the presidents of the Minnesota conference and those of the college presidents. E. Norelius papers for the years 1895-1898 are to be found here. There are also a large number of obituaries and biographies, minutes of the Minnesota Conference, minutes of the board of directors of the college, pastoral reports, recommendations, records and reports including those of the Augustana Missionary Society, 1885-1920, financial reports of the Mission Board, 1868-1870, 1915-24 etc., the Augustana Church Building fund, and the records of Minnesota College including the papers of Frank Nelson.

At Bethany College and Upsala College few significant documents are to be found except those of local importance and pertaining to the respective colleges. At Bethany College are to be found documents pertaining to the origin of the Swedish settlement at Lindsborg and the papers of Carl A. Swensson.

The Swedish Methodist Historical Library of Evanston, Illinois, has one of the smaller collections of documents and manuscripts including minutes of various organizations within the Swedish Methodist Conferences, records of the Epworth Society, the N. O. Westergren papers including his diary, financial records, ledgers, cashbooks, abstracts and similar documents.

If this bibliography were consulted on newspapers and periodicals, it would be discovered that the catalogues and bulletins of most of the colleges and seminaries above have not been preserved by the Royal Library or Augustana College. These are important primary sources for which one would have to go to the respective colleges.

While the archives at Augustana College would provide a great deal of information on the general contributions of the Swedish immigrants, the archives of the other colleges would provide almost no material of interest outside of the church of such a college.

The American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia should have much material of interest. Attention is especially called to its John Ericsson Collection.

The Mormons in Utah have considerable material on Scandinavians in the State of Utah and the archives of the Utah Historical Society should be consulted. Here is to be found a typed copy of William Mulder's master's thesis entitled *Utah's Nordic Language Press: Aspect and Instrument of Culture.* The New York State Historical Society has fairly recently received a Jenny Lind Collection which might have a definite interest. Various public libraries might be in possession of material of interest. The New Ulm City Library has a Governor John A. Johnson Collection.

The Minnesota State Historical Society has undoubtedly one of the best collections of archive material on the Swedes. This collection is largely founded upon the Swedish Historical Society of America's Collections which

are permanently stored in the Library of the Minnesota State Historical Society. Any other material found in this library would deal almost entirely with Swedes in Minnesota.

The major items in the collections of the Minnesota State Historical Society should be mentioned. The Christopher C. Andrews papers, 1854-1922, contain documents and papers especially related to economics and politics. The Edward Lafot and family papers, 1833-1933, are also of importance as are the Magnus Johnson papers, 1933-1934. The John Lind papers, 1870-1933, are also to be found there. The complicated problem of source classification within any such "narrow" lines as those of this bibliography could be easily illustrated by Stephenson's study of John Lind. This study brought Stephenson into contact with the Ignatius Donnelly papers, William W. Folwell papers, Knute Nelson papers, James A. Tawney papers, and William Jennings Bryan papers. Then there are the Axel Lindegard papers, 1861-1931, which contain material of interest on both religion and politics. The Hans Mattson and his family papers, 1855-1939, are not very complete. Andrew Peterson papers cover the period, 1854-1931. The Henry George Teigan papers, 1916-1941, include correspondence with a number of Swedes active in Minnesota politics such as Elmer A. Benson, Ernest Lundeen, and Magnus Johnson. The Andrew A. Stomberg papers, 1895-1945, contain letters, newspaper clippings and articles about Swedes in America. The Edward Sundell papers, 1882-1926, are chiefly of interest for the light they throw on Chauncey Depew and New York politics.

Victor E. Lawson has collected over a period of many years considerable material on the Swedes, especially in Minneosta, and has established a special home for this collection at Willmar. The Lawson collection contains relatively few manuscripts, though his own papers are of importance as he played an important role in the history of Minnesota as a politician and newspaperman.

The Knox College Library has the Philip J. Stoneberg papers, consisting of numerous materials, largely pertaining to the Bishop Hill colony.

The historian is truly amazed as he examines the primary and secondary sources dealing with the role of the Swedish immigrants in America, a group which constitutes slightly more than one per cent of our total population. He feels a sense of great indebtedness to those men and women, whose roles have often been unsung, who gathered and preserved the materials which constitute the major portion of this bibliography. He regrets the failure of others to share in this responsibility and the inability of the sons and daughters of Swedish immigrants to co-operate in establishing and maintaining a central depository for the records of their parents and grandparents. Augustana College has long sought to serve as such a central depository, but with the passing of each generation the college has found that this service is more difficult to render.

20. *Regional Conflicts around Geneva.* By Adda B. Bozeman (1949) (for exchange only; trade edition for sale by Stanford University Press, $5.00)

21. *Geology of the Northwest Flank of the Gros Ventre Mountains, Wyoming.* By Frank Albert Swenson (1949) 1.50

22. *The Swedish Theatre of Chicago, 1868-1950.* By Henriette C. K. Naeseth (1951) 3.00

23. *Structural Geology and Physiography of the Northern End of the Teton Range, Wyoming.* By Rudolph William Edmund (1951) 1.50

24. *The Resistance of the Air to Stone-dropping Meteors.* By Harry E. Nelson (1953) 1.00

25. *The Port of Milwaukee.* By Edward Hamming (1953) 2.00

26. *The John Hauberg Historical Essays.* By O. Fritiof Ander, ed. (1954) 2.50

27. *The Cultural Heritage of the Swedish Immigrant: Selected References.* By O. Fritiof Ander (1956) 3.00

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